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Palestinian Affairs

'Strong Likelihood' of Baker-'Arafat Meeting

TA1203123890 Jerusalem AL-NAHAR in Arabic 12 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] AL-NAHAR has learned from responsible sources that there is a strong likelihood now that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will meet with Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat or one of his aides at one of the Arab capitals which Baker will visit in early April.

These sources have been quoted as saying that this expected development in the U.S. position is a response to the wavering and procrastination in the Israeli arena toward James Baker's proposals.

The sources added that the U.S. Administration is currently studying the possibility of upgrading its representation in the dialogue with the PLO by appointing one of Secretary of State James Baker's aides to head the U.S. delegation.

Sit-ins Staged at Algiers Soviet, U.S. Embassies

LD1203233690 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2200 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] The issue of Jewish emigration to Palestine was the subject of condemnation today by deported Palestinians who staged a sit-in in front of the U.S. and Soviet embassies in Algiers.

The deported Palestinians were received today at the U.S. Embassy in Algiers by the charge d'affaires at the embassy, where he was handed a memorandum of protest in which the following was mentioned: The action carried out by the United States of closing its borders to the Soviet refugess constitutes a real danger for the future, security, and safety of the Palestinian people and a blatant violation of all human values and principles, as well as a conspiracy to uproot the Palestinian people from its land in accordance with the Zionist designs aimed at creating Greater Israel on Arab soil. In their memorandum of protest, the deported Palestinians called for an end to the hostile U.S. role against the Arab people in general, and the Palestinian one in particular; the abrogation of the agreement concerning Jewish emigration to Palestine; as well as the lifting of the restrictions on emigrating to the United States and for acting for the implementation of UN resolutions calling for the return of the Palestinian people to its homeland from which they were expelled.

The delegation of deported Palestinians was not received at the Soviet Embassy in Algiers. The delegation strongly denounced this hostile stance and considers the emigration of Jews a blatant violation against the Palestinian people and a violation of international charters and human rights.

More on Protests

LD1303103790 Algiers APS in English 1013 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Algiers, 13 March (APS)—Deported Palestinians observed here yesterday a sit-in at embassies of the United States and the USSR in Algiers to protest against emigration of Soviet Jews in occupied Palestine.

In a letter handed to the U.S. charge d'affaires the Palestinian delegation condemned Washington decision not to allow Soviet Jews to enter the United States thus threatening security and future of the Palestinian people. They called for the implementation of UN decisions providing for the return of Palestinians in their homeland and the abrogation of Israeli decisions of deportations against Palestinians.

The Palestinian delegation went later on to the Soviet Embassy in Algiers where it observed another sit-in and tried to transmit a message to the Soviet diplomats who refused to receive them. The message criticized the non-friendly position of the USSR towards the Palestinian people. It considers emigration of Jews in Palestine a serious precedent, and a blatant attempt to the Palestinian people right to set up its own state. [sentence as received]

The message hold the USSR responsible for crimes that will be inevitably perpetrated against the Palestinian people. It asks for an immediate repatriation of Soviet citizens who entered recently into Palestine.

Bush Urged To 'Take Issue' With 'Massacre'

JN1103205290 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1924 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] The PLO has called on U.S. President George Bush to take issue with the massacre the Zionist occupation forces perpetrated in occupied Jerusalem yesterday, which has so far resulted in the killing of three people and the wounding of 24 others.

In a news statement in Tunis yesterday, a Palestinian press spokesman said that this massacre, which was carried out through a decision by terrorist Yitzhaq Shamir, enemy prime minister, took place after David Levi, deputy prime minister and housing minister, said that he plans to begin building new settlements in Jerusalem next week to settle the new Soviet immigrants.

The spokesman added that this Zionist government's decision constitutes a new challenge to the will of the international community. The UN Security Council and its permanent member states, particularly the United States and the USSR, are responsible for the implementation of its resolutions.

PLO Sources Cited on Peace Talks, Delegation

JN1103105590 Al-Dammam AL-YAWM in Arabic 9 Mar 90 p 1

[By Ashraf al-'Ishari from Cairo]

[Text] AL-YAWM has learned from informed PLO sources that this week will witness intensive contacts by all the parties concerned with resolving the Palestine question with the aim of reaching a final stand on launching the Palestinian-Israeli dialogue in Cairo. The sources added that a high-level Palestinian official will arrive in Egypt within the next two days carrying a message from the PLO leaders on the latest Palestinian developments concerning the dialogue. The sources went on to say that this official will also inform Egyptian officials of the final PLO stand on peace talks with Israel.

In a related development, the PLO refused the day before yesterday [7 March] to submit a detailed report in reply to a query made by the U.S. Administration through its ambassador in Tunis who handed the query to Palestinian ambassador Hakam Bal'awi. The PLO declined to give any explanations right now on the grounds that it has so far made numerous concessions and launched many initiatives.

Furthermore, AL-YAWM has also seen the text of the document received by the United States and Israel from Egypt and the PLO. This document contains the names of the members of a Palestinian delegation to the proposed Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. The document contains the names of seven Palestinian figures including Radwan Abu-'Ayyash, head of the Jerusalem-based Palestinian Arab Journalists' Association; lawyer Fayiz Abu-Rahmah; Hikmat al-Masri, former Nabulus deputy to the Jordanian House of Representatives; Faysal al-Husayni, head of the Arab Studies Center; Palestinian businessman Sa'id Kan'an; and journalist Hanna Sinyurah.

The Israeli delegation to the dialogue sessions will be led by Benyamin Netanyahu. It will comprise the heads of the U.S., British, and German Departments at the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Israel's former ambassador to the United States will also be a member of the Israeli delegation.

PLO To Stop Making Statements on Peace Process

JN1103130090 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 9 Mar 90 p 3

[Text] Tunis—PLO Executive Committee Member Mahmud 'Abbas (Abu-Mazin) has stated that agreement has been reached within the Palestinian command to stop making any statements on the political peace efforts in the Middle East at this stage, which is witnessing clear disagreements within the Israeli entity.

Palestinian 'Ambassador' to Moscow Interviewed

PM1203154390 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 13 Mar 90 p 23

[Telephone interview with Palestinian Ambassador in Moscow Nabil 'Amr by unidentified correspondent; date not given]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] As one of the people directly concerned with the question of the emigration of Soviet Jews from the Soviet Union to occupied Palestine, what is Moscow's latest position on this issue?

[Nabil 'Amr] Ever since Shamir's resounding statements, the PLO has been dealing with this serious matter at various levels. Through the open channels with the Soviet Union I am trying to tackle this issue in a way that would serve the cause of peace in the Middle East without undermining the basic interests of the Palestinian people.

We have held several high-level meetings in Moscow and Tunis. The Soviets explained to us their efforts to minimize the danger of such emigration by, for example, not allowing a direct route with Israel and expediting legislation that would allow those who leave to return to their homeland unconditionally and to retain their passports for a long time. There is Soviet-Palestinian information cooperation to influence those who leave the Soviet Union against going to the occupied territory.

[Correspondent] Some people believe PLO representation in Moscow was raised to embassy level to pacify the PLO over the question of the emigration of Soviet Jews. What do you say to that?

['Amr] That is absolutely untrue because Moscow told us, as far back as the time of the extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council [PNC] which proclaimed the Palestinian state, that it intended to raise PLO representation to embassy level and that the government was waiting for appropriate time to implement the decision.

[Correspondent] What is the current status of the PLO office? Is it an embassy?

['Amr] Yes it is an embassy, like that of any other state.

[Correspondent] The Western press speaks of a wave of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. Is there any such thing?

['Amr] The expression anti-Semitism is a Zionist invention designed to justify Israeli policies and blackmail the societies where there are Jewish minorities. I see no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union but I see Zionist incitement urging Jews to emigrate on the grounds that this country is not their homeland.

[Correspondent] Is it true that there is an anti-Arab campaign in the Soviet media and that Jews are behind it?

['Amr] There is no anti-Arab campaign. Some articles have appeared critizing the Arabs and numerous articles have appeared criticizing Israeli policies.

[Correspondent] The prevailing impression is that the Middle East situation is no longer among the Soviet Union's list of priorities. Is that correct?

['Amr] I believe that the Middle East is under serious discussion between Moscow and Washington as one of the urgent regional issues. We cannot list the priorities of the two superpowers, but we are sure that the effects of the intifadah on that area give the Middle East question a vitality that imposes itself on the international scene.

[Correspondent] Will Moscow follow the example of some the Eastern states which have restored relations with Israel recently?

['Amr] No. There has been more than one official statement, and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze himself has stated that resumption of relations would depend on progress in the peace process and on the materialization of an international conference.

PFLP's Habash Criticizes PLO 'Deviation'

NC1003131490 (Clandestine) Voice of the People in Arabic to Lebanon 1130 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] George Habash, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine secretary general, has reasserted that the sound and appropriate mechanism for initiating a serious peaceful process must begin at an international conference with full powers. Until this can be imposed, he said, the only option for the Palestinian people is struggle.

In an appeal to the masses of the occupied land on the occasion marking the 28th month of the intifadah, he said that the course the PLO leadership is following outside the framework of the five points the Palestine National Council [PNC] approved in Baghdad, constitutes a major blow to the intifadah. He appealed to the masses of the Palestinian people wherever they may be to raise their voice and to press for convening a PNC meeting to put an end to this serious deviation and to achieve democratic reforms within the PLO. He appealed to Hamas [the Islamic Resistance Movement] and the Islamic jihad movements to foil attempts by the common enemy and to act to unify efforts with the intifadah national leadership toward liberation and building an independent state.

'Arafat Chairs Committee To Discuss New PNC

JN1103080090 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 11 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] Following the end of the Palestine National Council's [PNC] term, it has been decided that a new PNC comprising new members be formed, due to the importance of convening a new session of the Council, and because the council, in its former makeup, could not be called into session.

A pertinent committee called for a meeting in Tunis on 13 March under the chairmanship of Yasir 'Arafat, president of the state of Palestine, and with the membership of Salim al-Za'nun, Mahmud Tayyim, Muhammad Subayh, Jamal al-Surani, Badi' Abu-al-Jabin, Saji Khalil Salamah, Muhammad al-Musallami, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Hurani, and Ibrahim Asad, to discuss the formation of the new council.

This meeting has been agreed to after 100 Palestinian figures, including PNC members, asked the PNC presidency to present views on the makeup of the new council.

AL-RA'Y has learned that as regards the new formation of the council, the dominant trend among the PNC quarters is to retain the same percentage of representation and the same numbers of seats for the various factions.

'Arafat's Message Marks 28th Month of Intifadah

JN1003204390 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Address by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO, to Palestinians marking the start of the 28th month of the intifadah; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] In the name of the God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Therefore patiently persevere, as did all apostles of inflexible purpose; and be in no haste about the unbelievers. On the day that they see the punishment as if they had not tarried more than an hour in a single day. Thine but to proclaim the message. But shall any be destroyed except those who transgress? [Koranic verses]

Children of our great Arab nation and our determined Palestinian people; masses of the valiant popular intifadah; knights of resistance and unyielding steadfastness: [passage omitted] Brothers, my kinfolk: After 27 months of legendary struggle and tales of heroic steafastness and stubborn resistance, and in the face of 27 months of multifaceted Israeli savagery, the outlines of the earthquake are there for all the world to see. The intifadah earthquake is shaking the foundations of the Israeli Government and all power centers, and splitting its parties and political blocs. Indeed, the top echelons of Israel's ruling circles have been shaken by the intifadah earthquake. The splits are showing up in the confusion and transparent maneuvers that manifest themselves in the delay of decisions amid mutual threats to break up the ruling coalition and forge a new coalition or call fresh general elections.

All this is taking place under the cover of U.S. sponsorship of this entity, which was planted in the midst of the

Arab world and in the heart of our homeland of Palestine, together with the all-around, unqualified support that has made it possible for occupation, commission of crimes, repression, and atrocities against our people, including women and children, to continue. All this is happening while the Palestinians are developing their ties with a majority of the West European nations, Japan, and other countries, and while direct aid is increasing from the governments and peoples of these countries to the occupied land without being channeled through the Israeli occupation authorities. There is also the stance of the brothers and friends in the African, Islamic, and socialist states, including the USSR and PRC. [passage omitted]

Brothers: We are aware of Malta—a new Yalta which we are approaching with the utmost sense of responsibility and accurate calculations. At the same time, we have every confidence in our people and their largesse and sacrifice, which we all have to work to match. It is in this spirit that we react to this new and serious threat posed by the influx into our country of Jewish immigrants from the USSR and elsewhere. We have discussed these dangers with our Soviet officials and demanded that certain aspects be addressed to ward off these dangers. We are also taking up the issue with Arab, nonaligned, Islamic, African, and other friends around the world. Without a doubt, the international community will voice a collective comdemnation of the attempted accommodation of the Soviet immigrants on our Palestinian land in the UN Security Council which we called into session in coordination with the Soviet friends to debate this grave issue, its aims, and attendant risks.

At the same time, we are all too aware of the clear U.S. role. The influx—both its principle and scale—are totally unacceptable, all the the more so under the present circumstances of a conspiracy, occupation, and repression that are at odds with peace. And, above all, our inalienable rights are being denied, not least of which are our sacred right to repatriation, enshrined in UN Resolution 194. [passage omitted]

PLO Central Council To Meet in Baghdad

JN1103154790 Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 10 Mar 90 p 12

[By Fathi al-Barqawi]

[Text] Tunis—A PLO Executive Committee meeting held in Tunis yesterday focused on ways of supporting the intifadah and agreed to convene a session of the PLO Central Council in Baghdad within the month. It became impossible to hold the council's meeting in Amman because of security considerations.

Informed sources told AL-BAYAN that the influx of Soviet Jews to occupied Palestine and regional peace efforts also figured in the Central Council's deliberations. Most of the PLO Executive Committee members stressed the need to stick to the Palestinian peace initiative and the Central Council resolutions stipulating the PLO's right to name the Palestinian delegation to the dialogue, and that it have an open agenda, and that the talks be attended by representatives of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, plus the UN secretary general.

Egypt

Two 'Extremist' Leaders Arrested in Al-Minya

JN1003121690 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 8 March 90 p 13

[Report by Hajjaj al-Husayni]

[Text] Al-Minya—The security forces have arrested two leaders of the extremist groups. One of them, named Muhsin Fawzi 'Abd-al-Ghaffar, sustained bullet wounds as he and his colleague, Muhammad Abu-Tabanjah, were trying to escape. The incident occurred on a road leading to an al-Minya village and the wounded man was taken to the al-Minya general hospital.

Muslims, Christians Hold Brotherhood Rally

JN1003144190 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 8 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] Egypt's mufti Dr. Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi has said that anyone who harms his neighbor or country will be acting against the teachings of Islam, and does not belong to Islam. This statement emerged at the huge mass rally held in Abu-Qurqas in al-Minya Governorate yesterday, which was attended by more than 5,000 Muslims and Christians.

Dr Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, minister of awqaf, stressed the spirit of brotherhood and love among Muslims and Christians since time immemorial. He said that Caliph 'Umar Ibn-al-Khattab made a covenant of brotherhood and love among Christians and Muslims. He also said that we fought—united—three wars together. Al-Minya Governor Major General 'Abd-al-Tawwab Rashwan emphasized the spirit of national unity and brotherhood and denounced what was carried out by a small group.

Before the rally, Muslim and Christian residents of Abu-Qurqas staged a demonstration in a show of understanding among them. The demonstration was headed by the awqaf minister, the mufti, the governor, and Christian religious figures who linked hands with the Muslim 'ulema, and everyone was chanting "Long live the crescent and the cross." The demonstration proceeded through the streets and alleys of Abu-Qurqas amid cheers from the citizens.

Fundamentalists Arrested for Attacks on School

NC1003215390 Paris AFP in English 2134 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Cairo, March 10 (AFP)—Twenty-seven Moslem fundamentalist students were arrested in Upper Egypt Saturday for smashing windows at a Christian Coptic school during a demonstration, police sources said. The students were charged with illegal assembly and destruction of public property and ordered arraigned for 15 days pending an investigation, they said.

Two communities in the same al-Minya Governorate last week witnessed anti-Coptic incidents incited by fundamentalists who set fire to several buildings, including a church and two pharmacies, they said.

Al-Jihad Members Arrested; Leader Killed

NC1203153690 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1425 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Cairo, 12 Mar (MENA)—Interior Minister Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa has announced that the security authorities arrested 11 members of the extremist al-Jihad group in al-Minya Governorate today. The group staged disturbances in the governorate last week.

The interior minister said that the leader of the group was killed when he jumped from his house after realizing that the security forces were surrounding him. He fell on high-voltage power lines and was immediately electrocuted.

In a statement to journalists today, the interior minister said police authorities will firmly confront anyone who tries to harm Egypt's security and its citizens. He said this extremist group tried to exploit the economic conditions in the country to disrupt security. He added that the police's vigilance and excellent performance helped to apprehend this criminal group, which did not respect the sanctity of the homeland and religion.

The interior minister said security forces found about 8,000 leaflets in the possession of this extremist group, which planned to distribute them to the citizens. The leaflets instigate sectarian sedition and seek to exploit the economic crisis to incite the masses against the regime. Security forces also found that the group had 30 molotov cocktails and some chains and swords in their possession.

The interior minister praised the performance of the police forces during the events in al-Minya Governorate last week when some extremist groups tried to stir up sectarian sedition between Muslims and Copts. He said the performance and action of the police played a great role in containing these incidents.

The police forces laid several ambushes for this group in the Ard al-Mawlid area in the town of al-Minya. When the leader of the group became aware that the police were surrounding his house, he opened fire on them. He then jumped from the second story of his house, fell on power lines, and was killed instantly. The remaining members of the group were arrested. One extremist member, a certain Muhammad Abu-Tabanjah, remains at large.

The defendants were referred to the prosecutor for interrogation.

Libya

Further on Al-Rabitah Chemical Weapons Production

Plant 'Not Equipped' for CBW Output

PM1203112690 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 9 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Allan George report: "Architect Who Built Al-Rabitah Plant Tells AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: Libyan Plant Not Equipped To Produce Chemical Weapons"]

[Excerpt] London, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Architect Ihsan Barbuti, the man who was in charge of the construction and equipment of the Libyan plant of al-Rabitah, has stated that the U.S. intelligence report claiming that the plant has begun producing chemical weapons is untrue. He described the claim as sheer nonsense.

Architect Barbuti, who was born in Iraq and grew up in London, said: Although I have not visited the plant since 1988, I am 200 percent—not just 100 percent—sure that these reports are not true.

He added: As far as I know, the construction of the plant has not been completed yet. I know, for example, that there is still no available means of supplying it with the water necessary for its operation. Even assuming that the plant has been completed, there are no engineers capable of operating it. [passage omitted]

Italians Cited on Plant

LD1303110990 Tripoli JANA in English 1436 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Rome, al-Rabie [March] 12, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—On the U.S. anti-Great al-Jamahiriyah campaign JANA's correspondent in Rome conducted several press contacts with some trades union leaders, politicians and officials in Italy to listen to their viewpoints and reaction to the new campaign against Libyan Arab people.

Mr. Fabaristo, in charge of the foreign affairs in the continuing struggle movement in Italy has said that the U.S. threats constitute a provocation. The U.S., he has added should at first prove that the al-Rabitah manufacture is one that doesn't produce medicines. He continues that Libya is not the first country in this respect. Whatever is permissible, other countries should [words indistinct] to Libya. Therefore, the Zionists who produce nuclear bombs should be exposed. So is South Africa [as received]. Additionally, it is necessary to expose Italy which produces chemical weapons. The U.S. and the USSR also produce chemical weapons.

Mr. Babariuto adds that these things are part and parcel of the rights Libya is entitled to. As regards the political aspect, it is incumbent at the international level to find a formula and a solution to ban the use and production of chemical weapons worldwide. Should there be one country to use such weapons in self-defence.

The Americans have no justification to launch this anti-Libya campaign because they are the first to have used such a weapon. They can make other countries get rid of such weapons. They should make an example to eliminate such weapons they have at their disposal. Therefore, any other country has a right to produce such weapons for self-defence. I am he adds, very positive that al-Rabitah manufacture doesn't produce chemical weapons. This is so because of strategic and military reasons preventing their production.

Additionally, it is not possible to conduct an inspection on this manufacture. Such an inspection should be conducted on all and in every country.

He has proposed the formation of an international committee under the auspices of the United Nations to prohibit the production of chemical weapons. This committee should go to the U.S. and the Soviet Union and other countries for inspection. Should there be an international programme that is accepted widely, their exists no justification for anybody to disapprove such an inspection.

Arab Committee Condemns U.S.

LD1203175790 Tripoli JANA in English 0820 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Tripoli, Al-Rabia [March] 12 (JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY)—The Libyan Arab Committee for Cooperation and Peace has condemned the American hostile statements and threats against the Libyan Arab people and its civilisational achievements realised thanks to the great al-Fatih Revolution.

In a statement yesterday, the committee said that the American statements showed the hostile intentions against Jamahiriyah, its people and leader of the revolution.

It added that the American statements were aimed at dealing a blow to Arab cooperation, Arab unity and covering up for the immigration of Soviet Jews to occupied Palestine carried out by the Zionist enemy and the American administration and the new inventions by America to manufacture weapons of mass destruction to annihilate mankind.

The Libyan Arab Committee for Cooperation and Peace urged all peace and security lovers in the world including individuals, organisations, institutions and states to confront these hostile threats and statements against Great Jamahiriyah.

General People's Congress Adopts Resolutions

LD1003183790 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic 1939 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Resolutions adopted by the Libyan General People's Congress session on 9 March in Tripoli; read by unidentified speaker—live]

[Text] Resolutions of the Libyan General People's Congress [GPC].

In the name of God, we start with Article 1 in reading the resolutions we have adopted, and I will start by announcing the revolutionary legitimacy document.

The Libyan Arab people, meeting in the general gathering of the people's conferences, people's committees, federations, trade unions, and professional leagues; the General People's Congress in its 16th ordinary session held from 5 to 9 Sha'ban 1390 after the death of the prophet, corresponding to 2 March 1989 [dates as heard], while remembering with a flow of loyalty the development of the great historic event in its land, which was an emotional dream of the revolutionary Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and a covert and overt revolutionary struggle in the ranks of the popular masses and the Armed Forces, despite terrorism and pressures of foreign occupation, until the shining of the great Fatih's dawn, when the people regained their will by revolution and seized their liberation inspired by the bitter battles and challenges which they embarked on under the leadership of the revolutionary Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi to realize the objective of freedom, socialism, and unity since the first statement of the revolution on the dawn of the great Fatih [1 September 1969] until the detonation [tafjir] of the popular revolution with the historic Zuwarah speech, which consolidated their freedom and revolutionary achievement by declaring the establishment of people's authority in al-Qahirah, Sahba on two March 1977, and crowning their historic triumphs by issuing the great green document on human rights in the Jamahiri era to build, with the effect of revolution, a free and happy society in which the masses possess authority, wealth and arms; and on the basis of the conviction that revolutionary legitimacy is based on the historic responsibility of the brother leader of the revolution, Colonel Mu'mmar al-Qadhdhafi, in leading the revolutionary changes in the Great Jamahiriyah, firmly establishing people's authority, reaffirming the sovereignty of the masses of people's conferences in their localities, and supervizing the implementation of the theoretical, scientific, and practical solutions he has created in the Green Book; the Libyan Arabs declare:

Second [as heard]: The revolutionary legitimacy, which is embodied in the brother leader of the revolution, is based upon the natural law of the revolution, and therefore it is solely and inalienably his right because he is the brain and the symbol of the revolution. Thus, such a right cannot be opposed or withdrawn.

Third: Although the separation between authority and revolution gives the right to the Jamahir to exercise authority through people's committees and congresses, it also gives a right to the leader to lead the revolution by the Jamahir or ask someone else of his choice to do so; although separation between authority and revolution gives a right to the Jamahir to exercise authority through people's congresses and committees, it gives the leader a right to lead the revolution with the Jamahir, or ask someone else of his choice to do so. [sentence as heard]

Fourth: The revolutionary legitimacy, which is embodied in the brother colonel, does not extend over the popular Jamahir in Libya alone. It extends beyond them all to those who are thirsty for freedom, revolution, and emancipation throughout the world. Therefore, the Jamahir of the basic people's congresses reaffirm the brother leader's humanitarian and revolutionary role, and will be pleased to see the pioneer of the first revolution representing their causes at international organizations.

Fifth: The Jamahir of the basic people's congresses [BPC's] affirm that democracy is people's rule and not people's expression. The people's authority is a Jamahiri and a revolutionary choice on which there is no going back.

Sixth: The Jamahir of the BPC's, while reaffirming the above, understand clearly that the revolutionary legitimacy was not their gift but rather a deserved recognition for the good work of an internationalist revolutionary, whose glorious deeds are recognized in the pan-Arab and international scenes. History will look back at his ideas and actions, recognizing him as the creator of a new era in which corrupt regimes would fall and exploitation and repression would end. [applause] The general people's congresses have issued a law on this matter.

The revolution of the people against itself.

Proceeding from the belief of the Jamahir of the BPC's that the people's authority is a historical and conclusive choice, on which there will be no retreat or going back, and that the Jamahir's own rule and their management of their affairs throughout their people's congresses and committees are the only means for exercising true democracy: The dream of the Jamahir thoughout the world and the means for total emancipation from all shackles; proceeding from their understanding of their historical responsibilities toward the apparent negative phenomena, shortcomings, and excesses of the people's authority, which is contiguous and full, which might take place during the application of the people's authority; therefore, there is nothing else that can be done during the era of the people's authority save the people's own revolution against itself, because the people are the rulers, the masters, and the controllers of their own affairs; within the framework of self-evaluation and a revolution against one's self, the Jamahir of the BPC's have noticed the following negative phenomena:

1. Lack of commitment to carry out the Basic People's Congresses' resolutions, the issuance of decisions and resolutions which are contrary to them, and the weakness of people's control and authority over the executive bodies.
2. Lack of objectivity in the spread of a number of people's basic congresses.
3. The issuance of unwise decision which have been a heavy burden upon the shoulders of the people's committees.
4. Lack of commitment to objective conditions when electing the secretariats of the people's congresses and committees, lack of hierarchy in the administration, the existence of tribalist and factional affiliations, and the abuse of the profession, a matter which has made the executive bodies weak.
5. The continuous manifastation of the pre-Jamahir culture and its aspects, like indifference, opportunism, nepotism, and favoritism.
7. [As heard] The existence of some executive channels which did not stem from the BPC's.
8. Ambiguity in the rules governing popular actions, within the framework of people's authority, and revolutionary action.
9. The existence of a flaw in the application of the economic program and the failure of a number of projects which have yet to reach their productivity targets as a result of mismanagement, a matter which has created an unproductive society of consumption which is reliant on oil.
10. Lack of control over service companies, establishments and apparatuses, lack of balance in establishing projects, and ignoring remote areas.
11. Absence of women in playing their role in Jamahiri society.
12. Lack of incentive, delay of wages, lack of programming of employment opportunities, inadequate distribution of wealth among Libyans, lack of protection for national products and the enrichment of some at the expense of the public.
13. Lack of consideration for the trends of the new socialist society while granting concessions for practicing commercial activities, price monitoring, and scientific research.
14. Deterioration in the standard of education, and negligence of implementing the new set up and following it up.

Out of conviction that the masses have decided to stage a revolution among themselves and specifying the defects and weak points in their practice and progress, it is necessary to specify the remedy and prescribe the medicine in an endeavor to complete the experience and democratic practice and to reach perfection. Therefore the masses of the BPC's have decided to deal with the aforementioned phenomena as follows:

1. By reaffirming the consolidation of revolutionary concepts in order to advance the masses through persistent guidance and liberation, and by stressing that the revolution of the people against itself is a social revolution led by the revolutionary Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great Fatih revolution.
2. The masses will bear responsibilities and consequences resulting from the implementation of the laws decreed by the people's conferences, and practical implementation of the principle of people's authority and (?revolutionary) administration to select the elements capable of action and popular domination.
3. The restructuring of Basic People's Conferences by taking the objective conditions into consideration, away from blocs of all kinds, and reaffirming the membership of the Basic People's Conferences in the General People's Congress.
4. Guiding the society towards production, abolishing peripheral activities, organizing distribution channels, and creating resources to substitute for petroleum.
5. By banning all practices that contradict people's authority, combating those who are negligent and abolishing executive measures which are in violation of the Basic People's Conferences' resolutions.
6. By adhering to the Koran as the law [shari'ah] of the society, destroying imported cultures and combating atheism.
7. By supporting the security organs, withdrawing weapons from citizens and regulating measures for carrying them, creating an integrated police organ, and by strengthening popular security.
8. By providing the requirements of production, ensuring the protection and strengthening of national industry, and implementing the principle of barter.
10. [As heard] By supporting national firms and removing the problems they may face, and gradually doing away with foreign firms.
12. [As heard] Realizing justice among the sons of the Libyan people, reaffirming the sanctity of home and livelihood, monitoring the standard of living, paying wages at the right time, compensating for disasters immediately after they occur, and decreeing that medical treatment and education to be free for Libyans and by remuneration for foreigners.
13. Setting up a people's committee for amenities that would organize estates, and the building and supervising of houses.
14. By restructuring the adminstration of people's authority, including secretaries, conferences, and committees—providing that those selected are nominated by the people—by giving them more authority and providing that the period served by the nominee does not exceed two years.
15. The minute follow-up of the economic program and the creation of posts of employment in the productive and industrial sectors between the municipalities and to give priority to important ones.
16. Clean up and reorganize administrative apparatuses and combat routine, bureaucracy, nepotism, favoritism, and bring members of the Poeple's Body of Follow-up to account for their negligence to follow up carelessness and prejudice to public funds.
17. Endeavor to prepare excellent and innovative elements.

18. Strict adherence to implement laws, particularly as far as unlawful gains, the protection of agricultural lands, economic crimes, nepotism and favoritism, abuse of position and profession, and the corruption in the process of popular election as well as the implementation of the principle: How did you acquire this? Are all concerned?
19. Link economic cooperation with Italy with resolving the pending problems, like [war] retribution and exiles.
20. Put on record the previous BPC's resolutions.

Thus, the Basic People's congresses, having understood the negative shortcomings, decided the suitable solutions for them—and in order to guarantee the sought after goal, they have decided that the solution should be through the following means:

1. Direct implementation: The Jamahir should exercise direct implementation under the supervision of the brother leader of the revolution and under his instigation and direction in affirmation of the people's authority whenever the situation warrants. The revolution should start with the implementation of the revolution of the human being against himself, who should distance himself from the mistakes which are incompatible with the Jamahiri society. A book to record citizens' complaints should be opened at the secretaries of the people's congresses which should be seriously followed up.
2. People's Committees exercise their work in accordance with their competence and the apparatuses controlling them.
3. People's Court: Its effectiveness should be expanded as well as its offices in such a way as to allow it to look with speed in cases within its jurisdiction.
4. The people's apparatus of follow up: An endeavor to expand its offices should be carried out, and it should be strengthened with excellent and committed elements and to give it the competence to examine mistakes and deviations. [sentence as heard]
5. The Movement of Revolutionary Committees: They should be kept because they are the means for instigating the exercise of power and protecting the revolution under the supervision and the follow up of the pioneer of the movement and creator of the era of Jamahir [applause].
6. The Armed Forces personnel: Affirming the need to build a striking military defense force from the Armed Forces personnel to defend the great Jamahiriyah and its civilized achievements.

Resolving vocational problems and causes through vocational congresses.

The follow-up of the revolutionary program:

The BPC's discussed the clause relating to the following up of the implementation of the revolutionary program; they have decided, in this respect, the following:

1. Reaffirm the need for carrying out the revolutionary program and provide the necessary means to make it successful and make accountable those who have been negligent in its implementation, as well as the need to draw the scientific perceptions and the practical program for its implementation which should be put forward before the BPC's.
2. Pay more attention to the agricultural sector by protecting agricultural lands and the maximum use of rain waters by building dams and reservoirs as well as by producing the maximum quantity of cereals, plating more olive and palm trees, paying more interest to livestock resources and providing the best means to achieve the above.
3. Affirm the need to pay more attention to develop human resources and to help women to go forward and provide for them the suitable conditions in order to allow them to shoulder the responsibilities of taking part in the productive activities alongside their brother man.
4. To seek alternative resources for oil by paying more attention to industry, particularly those which use local raw materials.
5. Pay more attention to maritime resources and encourage industries based upon them.
6. Affirm the importance of scientific research in making the program of comprehensive mobilization successful and encourage researchers to develop means of work and production.
7. Develop the program of handicapped people's training in order to prepare them to take up posts of employment and production.
8. Affirm that the great Jamahiriyah is the land of all Arabs.

This was the first article.

Article 2: Following up

Following up the implementation of the BPC's resolutions formulated at the 15th GPC session: The BPC's have followed up the implementation of their resolutions formulated at the 15th session of the GPC of 1989, and stress that those which have not been implemented should be implemented according to the following observations:

1. Further attention should be given to productive projects, priority to be given to the completion of those which have been suspended, and scientific and practical studies to be made of those projects in order to realize the comprehensive mobilization program.
2. Adherence to submitting more thorough and scientific reports supported by statistics, figures, and convincing statements, and future coordination among all the concerned sectors before preparing and submitting these reports.
3. Ensuring the implementation of deterrent laws, following up all the public concerns, secretariats, and firms and removing the difficulties facing the implementation of the resolutions issued by the BPC's.
4. Replacing foreign workers by national elements, and retaining only unique specialities needed [words indistinct].
5. Providing employment opportunities for members of the Armed Forces who have been discharged.

6. Ensuring the provision of the requirements for the success of the new educational set up, paying attention to the general educational standard, focusing on performance in educational institutions, providing text books and audio-visual equipment.
7. Regulating imports and laying down the necessary controls, paying attention to local goods and controlling their quality, and organising marketing and fixing prices in a uniform way throughout the Great Jamahiriyah.
8. Providing a strategic stock of provisions.
9. Organizing the availability of medicines and medical equipment in health centers and hospitals.
10. Ensuring the availability of the requirements of production in order for partnership programmes to succeed, and encouraging national industries, protecting them and paying attention to their quality.
11. [Words indistinct] to protect the agricultural land.
12. Paying attention to developing the inner resources of municipalities and looking after foreign investments to realize foreign currency returns.
13. Improving the standard of information and cultural services at home and abroad.
14. Paying attention to training centers and supplying them with the necessary equipment.
15. Paying attention to fisheries' partnerships and expansion in the sphere of fish farming.
16. Intensifying efforts and providing all that is needed for agricultural production and combating agricultural pests.
17. Stressing the need to implement the agricultural land protection law and to stop urban expansion at the expense of agricultural land.
19. [As heard] Supporting the organs of popular action and setting up vocational courses to increase the competence and capabilities of individuals.

Follow up the implementation of the general management budget of 1989:

The BPC's followed up the implementation of the management budget of 1989 and have in this respect some observations which must be borne in mind in the future. These observations are as follows:

1. The necessity to take into account the budgets submitted by the municipalities when preparing the budget.
2. To do without foreign labor force in the administrative apparatus and limit oneself to technical experience only.
3. Working for the collection of taxes from all quarters in the interest of the general treasury.
4. The possibility for the general treasury to surpass the local general debt law considering the current circumstances, to deal with the legal requirements, and extend the term of bonds coming to maturity according to the conditions and statutes in force.
5. Commitment in the future not to put new burdens on the budget, to squeeze expenditures, and have sensible spending.
6. Working for the settling of final accounts, controlling and following up [word indistinct] resources.
7. Stressing the necessity for the state, companies, and installations to stick to the beginning and the end of the financial year.
8. Possibility to [word indistinct] to exceed expenditures according to the estimates of the general treasury.

Report of the people's apparatus for follow up:

The BPC's have discussed the report submitted by the people's apparatus for follow up and expressed their satisfaction with the role it plays and the necessity to strengthen it with qualified elements and encourage it in a way to enable it to assume the tasks entrusted to it. The BPC's have decided to require that all parties implement the observations which came in the report and continue to follow up the various issues mentioned in the report to reorganize work and realization and save public fund.

Report of the Central Bank of Libya:

The BPC's have in their second ordinary session of 1990 discussed the report of the Central Bank of Libya for 1989 and made the following observations:

1. To implement the BPC's resolutions concerning tourism plans in a way to save funds whenever this is possible.
2. To protect reserves.
3. To follow up the branches of commercial banks and improve the standards of bank services.
4. To encourage the citizens to save and return confidence between the citizens and the banks.
5. Necessity to give information on the activities of commercial banks in the future.

Article 3: Preparation of General Budgets for 1990-91

The BPC's have discussed the project of preparation of the general budget of 1990-91 and have adopted it within the value of 3240 million and by taking into consideration the following observations:

1. To consolidate strategic projects and give them priority.

[indistinct question from the audience]

Dinars, dinars, we deal in dinars in the Jamahriyah, 3240 million Libyan dinars.
2. Not to put new financial burdens on the general budget.
3. Compel all institutions and persons to pay their taxes to the public treasury and give the legal deductions to their recepients.
4. Direct all incomes to the public treasury to be spent from the central office.
5. Affirm the need to exert maintenance to protect and make projects and achievements last.
6. To follow up the suggestions in the budget file for 1990, particularly those relating to activities, incentives, and the sums proposed for fundings.

Preparing the budget of imports for 1990-91.

The BPC's have discussed the budget of importations for 1990-91 and adopted it with the following remarks:

1. Adopt the barter principle whenever possible and give priority to Arab and friendly countries when importing goods, paying attention to quality and the price.
2. Give priority to raw and necessary materials, paying attention to the requirement of the productivity and employment in the agricultural and industrial sectors, as well as in partnership companies and medicine and medical equipment.
3. Affirm the need to versify the strategic supplies prime commodities.

Article 4: The General Report

The report of the General People's Committee for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation:

The Jamahir of the BPC's have discussed the report of the General People's Committee for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, as well as its subsidiary companies. They expressed their satisaction with report and reaffirmed the following observations:

1. Implement the brother leader of the revolution's directives on the need to pay more attention to agriculture and agrarian reform, to expand the projects of grain production in a bid tc secure food and self sufficiency.
2. Transform al-Shati' region to a project of production, build more greenhouses, maintain old wells, and work to achieve the targets of agricultural production.
3. Pay more attention to grains, olives, palm trees, and vine farming and work to achieve a strategic stock of grains and fodder. Pay more attention to water resources, which should be wisely used.
4. Take the necessary measures to finance unstrategic agricultural projects and transform them into partnership farms. Speed up the distribution of the self-sufficiency farms and compel the owners of the farms to pay their debts.
5. Renew the control and the follow up on the companies which belong to the agricultural sector and work to resolve their problems, look into their books and coordinate with Libya Central Bank with which they should open current accounts to carry out their activities and pay their debts.
6. Ask the company of agricultural export to accept local agricultural products and take the necessary measures to export the surplus by using the barter principle.
7. Give agricultural societies the right to import needed equipment for agricultural production by coordinating with the concerned apparatuses.
8. The need to provide improved seeds, seedlings, palm shoots, and the necessary things for agricultural production at the right time and fight agricultural diseases.
9. Work for the completion of scientific studies for the exploitation of the great man-made river.
10. Stressing the necessity to protect agricultural land and implement the legislations related to this, as well as the implementation of the law of agricultural companies and consolidation of agricultural inspection.
11. To devote attention to animal resources and expand the sphere of veterinary medicine, to devote attention to centers of veterinary services and supply them with medicines and necessary equipment.
12. To devote attention to centers of agricultural research, encourage agricultural studies and research, and be concerned with the study of ground water in southern regions.

Report of the General People's Committee for Economy, Foreign Trade and the companies under its umbrella:

The BPC's have discussed the report of the General People's Committee for Economy, Foreign Trade and the companies under its umbrella and have made the following observations about them:

1. To implement the principle of barter trade with friendly and fraternal countries with coordination between the channels of export and import and work for the setting up of an Arab common market.
2. Stressing the necessity to observe [requirements] of the ration book and confine it to the subsidized goods and laying down distribution regulations through cooperative societies.
3. The report should contain in the future a statement for exports and a statement for imports.
4. To confine to the available resources of foreign currency when importing.
5. To tighten control and follow up of the affiliated companies and adopt the urgent measures to close their accounts and coordinate with the Central Bank of Libya to open companies' credit, overcome the obstacles facing them, work for their administrative stability, and merge the companies having similar activities.
6. To devote attention to general popular markets and organize them considering that they are the socialist choice, the model image of the Jamahiri society, control the implementation of price-fixing, fight brokerage, and distribute goods to the municipalities according to population density.
7. To compel the national company for livestock and meat, in coordination with the agricultural congresses, to facilitate the measures for purchasing national production.
8. To encourage partnership activity in the nonstrategic production units of the sector and providing raw materials and spare parts and grant them the power to export and import in accordance with the legislations in force.
9. Support the establishment of food supply and compel public quarters to pay the debts which are due to the establishment.
10. To lay down the necessary foundations and regulations for the companies of the sector to buy local produce.

Report of the General People's Committee for Light Industries:

The BPC's have discussed the report of the General People's Committee for Light industries and have expressed their satisfaction and made the following observations:

1. To open centers of distributions in all branches of municipalities to sell the production accumulated in factories and work for the export of the surplus from it.
2. To focus on the erection of factories for which materials are available locally and to study their economic feasibility.
3. To facilitate the measures for the budget for the requirements of production, spare parts, control quality and devote attention to maintenance and training and release the budget within its deadline.
4. To support partnerships, provide raw materials, and increase the productive power of existing factories, to watch quality and to set up a control apparatus.
5. Choose factories using less polluting techniques and recycle waste to be used once more.
6. Implement the principle of partners and not wage-earners and compel the General People's Committee to shoulder the debts of factories before the latter were transformed into partnership ownership. Rely upon national elements and give opportunities to the new partners.
7. Distribute factories to municipalities and expand food industries, like factories to preserve in dates in tins, tins suitable agricultural products.
8. Put aside sums of money to maintain factories and compel public apparatuses, to which such factories belong, to pay them back. Complete unfinished factories and implement the industrial projects stipulated by the plan.
9. Affirm the need to implement the project of productive family and protect and develop handicraft industries.
10. Compel national industrialised companies to cover the needs of local market with commodities produced locally and restrict importation in accordance with the reduction of funds.

Report of the General People's Committee for Strategic Industries:

The Jamahir of the Basic People's Congresses have discussed the report of the General People's Committee for Strategic Industries. They expressed satisfaction with the following remarks:

1. Adopt the recommendations in the report to work to overcome the difficulties facing the sector.
2. Speed up the issuance of the bill regulating industrial organisation and take into accounts the studies made by the Center of Industrial Studies and bolster them.
3. Carry out studies and geological survey for raw materials, build factories for them and expand the platform of vocational and industrial training.
4. Study the economic return of industrial projects and complete industries based upon steel and ore factories of Abu Kamash and Ras al-'Unuf.
5. Renew the control and the follow up over the companies belonging to the sector [of strategic industries] and take the necessary urgent measures to close their accounts.
6. Carry out the necessary maintenance of factories. [secretary of the General People's Congresses interrupts, saying: "As far as the consolidation of the Center for Industrial Studies and Geological Surveys is concerned it will be put before the Secretariat of Scientific Research to [words indistinct]"]

Report of the General People's Committees for Treasury on its subsidiary companies:

The Jamahir of the Basic People's Congresses have discussed the report of the General People's Committee for Treasury on its subsidiary companies and decided the following:

1. Compel various parties to pay back their debts to the Real Estate Investments Bank and the Social Security Fund.
2. Renew the control and follow up over the banks and its subsidiary institutions and take the necessary measures to (?close) their accounts and allow them to overcome difficulties facing them.
3. Distribute agricultural loans in accordance with agricultural activities in each municipality, giving priority to those who have been demobilized from the Armed Forces. Consolidate agricultural funds and pay farmers for their produce.
4. Work to give housing grants for citizens by preparing the necessary studies to make allotments equal to the rent.
5. Affirm the need to achieve the aims of foreign investments and improve administrative competence which is charge of them.
6. Affirm the need to implement and bolster the remarks in the report of the treasury and the bank of investment.
7. Open more branches and offices of the banks and funds belonging to the sector.

The need to collect taxes on practice of economic activities such as companies, partnerships [tasharukiyat], and individual distributors.

Report of the People's Committee for Transport, Maritime Transportation, and Affiliated Companies:

The BPC's discussed report of the People's Committee for Transport and Maritime Transportation and affiliated companies. They adopted it, noting the following remarks:

1. To carry out the necessary studies to implement the system of partnerships in the fields of transport services, goods transportation, road works, and postal services.
2. To implement the railway project, and pay attention to road works, ports, and airports.
3. To improve postal services, to provide them in all towns and villages, to prepare and implement training programs for maintenance workers.

4. To increase control and supervision on companies affiliated to this sector, while taking the necessary measures to meet their accounts and remove the obstacles facing them; to strive for the integration of companies of similar activities.
5. To support the national airlines companies and enable it to provide better services, increase its fleet, respect international airfares, and support the general company for transport to provide better services.
6. To give priority for goods shipment to and from the Great Jamahiriyah to ships belonging to the Libyan Arab fleet.
7. To compel foreign companies to compensate for the damages suffered by public sectors, while compelling them to use local transport services, and impose taxes on these companies in return for use of public roads.
8. To coordinate with the information sector to cover regions of the Great Jamahiriyah through telephone networks, and improve radio and television broadcasting..

Report of the People's Committee for Sea Resources and Affiliated Companies:

The BPC's debated the report of the people's committee for sea resources and affiliated companies, they expressed their satisfaction regarding the report, noting the following remarks:

1. To support sea resources sector in accordance with the available means, to prepare constituent legislature, to expand projects of fish farms, and preserve national fish, to expand fishing industry and benefit from their outcome, to implement project of fisheries docks.
2. To encourage partnerships in the fields of fisheries, to supervise them and grant them the necessary loans, to manufacture boats and tugs, to provide equipment for fishing, to encourage individual activity, and apply the national character in this field.
3. The need to provide cooked and canned fishes in all regions of the Great Jamahiriyah.
4. To prepare technical cadres through opening institute for maritime fisheries.
5. To pay attention to the extraction of sponge.
6. To manage the capital of the companies affiliated to this sector, while monitoring mixed companies in a way that would protect public money; to preserve sea resources and cooperate with friendly and fraternal countries of the Mediterranean to combat pollution.
7. To benefit from the factories of fodder to product by-products in them so as to provide food for fish farms and expand fish breeding in the regions suitable for that.

Report of the General People's Committee for Health:

The BPC's have discussed the report of the General People's Committee for Health and stressed the following:

1. To stress the fact that medical treatment is free and realize health projects in the areas which need them.
2. To speed up the implementation of the health dossier and the implementation of the program of the doctor for the Jamahiri quarter and provide medicines and medical equipment.
3. To devote more attention to school health and provide the necessary resources for it.
4. To supervise treatment abroad for the complicated cases, the expenses of which are met by the society, facilitate the measures for private treatment together with being committed to the recommendation of the brother leader of the great revolution concerning treatment abroad.
5. To stick to the use of the health card when entering the Great Jamahiriyah to confirm that visitors are free from diseases, control drinking water, goods, and food products.
6. To be committed to the contracts with high standard and specialized experiences, and grant incentives to the Libyan Arab doctors who distinguish themselves.
7. To devote attention to health facilities, maintain and equip them, and follow up the central consultation committees [as heard] and pay attention to preventive medicine and the production of pharmaceuticals.
8. To tighten control on medical partnerships and implement the medical responsibility law.

Report of the People's Committee for Oil and the companies under its umbrella:

The BPC's have discussed the report of the People's Committee for Oil and the companies under its umbrella and have stressed the following:

1. To construct fuel stations in the regions where they are necessary according to the resources available together with devoting attention to the existing fuel stations and improving oil services.
2. To lay down the studies which are necessary for the establishment of oil industries.
3. The necessity to speed up the completion of oil projects particularly the phases of the complex of Ras al-'Anuf.
4. To adopt the criterion of priority when job opportunities are made available to the graduates and those demobilized from the Armed Forces, overcome the obstacles facing the oil companies, and provide the spare parts and operation requirements.
5. To work for the reduction of production costs so the national companies and petrochemicals would be able to compete with international products.
6. To continue to survey the underground and work for the construction of developed oil industries.
7. To stress on the intensification of industrial security for the oil sector.

Report of the General Electricity Establishment and the Companies Affiliated to It:

The BPC's examined the report of the General Electricity Establishment and its affiliated companies and stressed the following:

1. Maintain the current prices of electricity.

2. Require public bodies to pay the debts due from them to the General Electricity Establishment.
3. Lay down and implement training and qualifying programs for national elements and raise their competence, as well as benefit from national firms in executing electricity projects.
4. Permanently organize the collection of levies and work toward the payment of past debts in installments, according to the citizen's ability.
5. Lay down schedules for maintaining motors and stations and provide spare parts and operational requirements.
6. Speed up the construction of electricity stations.
7. Carry out and benefit from the necessary scientific studies to generate electricity and to use solar power.

Debate on the Great Man-made River Report:

The masses of the BPC's debated the great man-made river report. While expressing their satisfaction with the progress of work on the project, they decided the following:

1. Require all the financing bodies to pay what they owe, bring to account the bodies which have been negligent in paying, and remove the difficulties which obstruct the implementation of the project.
2. Work toward the completion of phases two and three of the great man-made river according to schedule.
3. Control expenditure on the project and limit extra administrative expenses.
4. Seek help from sisterly and friendly countries to finance the project.
5. Collect levy from individual distributors and foreigners coming to the Great Jamahiriyah for the benefit of the project and to exploit all capabilities.
6. Hasten the plan for utilizing phase one of the great man-made river in a way that will secure [word indistinct] the exploitation of its waters and prepare a report on its economic advantages.

The Jihad Fund Report:

The BPC's debated the jihad fund report and expressed their satisfaction, while stressing the following observations:

1. Require the General People's Committee for Treasury to pay debts due from it to the fund.
2. Hasten the closure of the fund's previous years' budget.
3. Require the fund to pay its share in financing strategic projects, such as the great man-made river and banks, and invest its assets in local and overseas productive development projects.
4. Stress the fund's recommendations and specify the bodies which the fund is to finance and remove the difficulties it is facing.

The Social Security Fund Report:

The BPC's debated the social security fund report and expressed their satisfaction while making the following observations:

1. Stress that social security payments are made at their scheduled times.
2. Require public bodies to pay the amounts they owe to the fund.
3. Reassess those who have been assigned as qualifed for social security payment, by referring them to specialist committees.
4. Carry out the necessary studies for drawing up an administrative structure with interlinked responsibilities and specializations between the fund and the people's committees for social security in the municipalities.
5. Care for the handicapped and the residents of the social care homes and prepare the necessary training programs for them and provide their rquirements.
6. Ensure the fund's participation in the productive projects in the municipalities and the completion of halted projects with concentration on projects which give an economic yield.
7. Confirm the recommendations of the fund listed in the report and its reorganization in such a way that secures the achievements of the purposes for which it was set up and to administer it popularly.
8. Compel the fund to close its accounts.

Article 5: Questioning

In consolidation of the people's authority, which it exercises through the people's conferences and committees, trade unions, federations and professional leagues, the GPC questioned its secretariat and the apparatuses belonging to it, as well as the general people's committee, in implementation of the questioning remarks approved by the BPC's in its second regular session for the year 1989, from the premise that questioning is the people's tool for the rectifiction of the executive apparatuses, and decided the following concerning them:

1. The GPC questioned its secretariat and the apparatuses belonging to it and got acquainted with the measures they had taken in following up the implementation of the resolutions of the BPC's and the tasks they entail, and it confirmed the importance of the following up of the implementation of the resolutions of the BPC's, accurately and seriously.
2. The GPC questioned the General People's Committee about what executory measures it had taken concerning the resolutions of the BPC's. The GPC confirms the need to implement the remarks expressed by the BPC's and consider them, especially those repeated, a rectification of the work of the people's committees.
3. a) The GPC decided to subject the fraternity bureaus, people's bureau, and delegations abroad to questioning by the BPC's and compel them to provide detailed reports on their activities and practices in implementation of the resolutions of the BPC's, and also their financial reports and closing accounts; b) the GPC decided to subject public companies and establishments to BPC's questioning and compel them to submit reports

on their budgets, activities and measures in implementation of the resolutions of the BPC's.

Article 6: General Issues

Assisting Big Families:

The BPC's debated assistance to big families and decided the following:

1. Define the number of members of a big family in accordance with studied scientific principles, and link the assistance measures to the carrying out of social studies and research.
2. Assist large families of limited income, while ensuring that the assistance takes into account the size of the family and giving its sons priority in job opportunities, obtaining self-sufficiency farms, housing loans, and partnerships.
2. [As heard] Youth recommendations: The BPC's discussed this point and approved what came in the memorandum on the programming of youth recommendations and implement what can be implemented from them in accordance with the available resources and in a way that does not contradict the resolutions of the BPC's. [woman from floor urges more jobs and responsibilities for women]

Article 7: Proposed Legislation

The BPC's discussed memorandums pertaining to the following laws:

1. Bill amending some clauses of the Law Number Nine of 1984 dealing with the Organization of People's Congresses.
2. Bill on vocational congresses, [trade] unions, and leagues.
3. Bill on people's committees.
4. Bill on the people's follow-up organ.
5. Bill on the organization of public education affairs and vocational training and formation.
6. Bill on the organization of higher education.
7. Bill on the reorganization of the bar.
8. Bill on planning and development.
9. Bill on the national organization for datas and coordination.
10. Bill on prescriptions for the production and standards.
11. Bill on passing some decision on social security.
12. Bill on communications and telecommunications.
13. Bill on maritime regions.
14. Bill on narcotics and drugs.

The above bills will be issued in accordance with the accompanying texts which include the remarks of the people's congresses.

Draft law on the creation of the fund for health insurance: The BPC's discussed the draft law on the creation of the fund for health insurance. They decided not to agree to it and it should be put once again before the BPC's.

The Basic People's Congresses discussed the memorandum on security and decided the following:

1. Organize the local people's security in a scientific and practical manner by issuing regulations which would define the general rules and the conditions needed in its members. Duties, rights, responsibilities, competence, punishments, and other rules to guarantee the proper running of the local people's security should be made clear.
2. Issue a law which would protect security men when carrying out their duties against outlaws and those interfering in their domain of competence.
3. Build the police apparatus and bolster it by allocating a budget which would cover all its equipment and the rest of material requirement needed by it to perform its security duties.
4. Overcome the recruitment deficiencies and provide necessary funds for the budget of management.

The BPC's discussed the memorandum on adding some clauses to the tax law; they decided the following:

1. Not to add any further financial arrangements on salaries, wages and the like.
2. All citizens should shoulder equally the burden of financing the public budget, everyone in accordance with his income.
3. Abolish relief on economic activities so the latter would shoulder public burdens.

Article 8: Foreign Policy

The Great Jamahiriyah has recorded effective presence at the external level which has covered the pan-Arab and international work. This was one of the fruits of the efforts which the brother leader of the great al-Fatih revolution has been exerting. [applause] These efforts have consolidated the pan-Arab and internationalist role of the revolution and confirmed the credibility of its ideological and intellectual vision of events, and the depth of the political vision of international developments and the factors that govern them, and the dealing with them in a way that serves the objectives of the foreign policy of the Great Jamahiriyah and the abortion of the plans for conspiracies and aggression, which forces hostile to the freedom of peoples and progress work to impose as a material fact that governs international relations.

First, on the results of the brother leader's visits to sister and friendly countries, the BPC's discussed the article on the visits of the brother leader of the great al-Fatih revolution to sister and friendly countries and expressed the following:

The BPC's expressed their satisfaction with the great successes scored by the visits of the brother leader of the revolution and their positive influence on the foreign policy of the Great Jamahiriyah, and on the consolidation of its steadfastness in the confrontation of the imperialist attack against the Libyan Arab people and the Arab nation. They highly appreciated the positive

results scored by these visits to sister and friendly countries. They expressed their pride and absolute support for the mighty efforts which the brother leader of the Great al-Fatih revolution has been exerting for the achievement of comprehensive Arab unity [applause] and the enlisting of the Arab human and economic capabilities in the battle of liberation and unity, and confirmed the following:

1. The masses highly appreciate the continuing efforts of the brother leader of the revolution for building relations with the peoples of earth, for removing artificial borders between the parts of the Arab homeland, and for ending the differences for the sake of consolidating the factors of unity and enlisting in the service of the nation.
2. Confirm what was said in the speech by the brother leader of the revolution at the 1989 Nonaligned Movement summit, and consider it a course for political action for the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation, PBFLIC,.
3. The PBFLIC is entrusted with the ongoing following up of the results of the visits of the brother leader of the revolution, to give an impetus to the revolutionary unionist work and guarantee the following up of the results, and the implementation of programs resulting from those visits.
4. Demand the Arab countries remove the imaginary borders and facilitate the free movement of Arab citizens inside the one homeland, by abolishing all the administrative obstacles preventing this.
5. Affirm the need to continue the Great Jamahiriyah's leading role at the Arab and international levels and exert more effort aiming at consolidating relations with peoples.
6. Affirm the need to continue effort to protect Muslims and provide them with care.

Second, the outcome of the visits paid to the Great Jamahiriyah by fraternal and friendly presidents:

The Jamahir of the BPC's discussed the outcome of the visits paid by presidents of fraternal and friendly countries which fell within the framework of brotherhood and friendship with those countries. They expressed satisfaction at their outcome and affirmed the following:

1. Satisfaction at the outcome of those visits and their participation at the festivities marking the 20th anniversary of the great al-Fatih revolution, stressing the need to take part in their national occasion and days.
2. Affirming the need to bolster the relations between the Great Jamahiriyah and the rest of peoples, led by the African peoples, the Asian peoples, and the Latin American peoples.
3. The need to follow up the results of the visits paid by presidents of fraternal and friendly countries, to fruitfully use their outcome and make sure of African countries' political orientations before the People's Bureau of the People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation should build political and economic relations with them.

Third, the discussion of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation's reports:

The Jamahir of the BPC's discussed the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation; they expressed satisfaction at the report with the following remarks:

A. Affirm the need to achieve the comprehensive Arab unity, protect the Arab nation's entity, draw an united Arab strategy given the recent international development, work for the consolidation of the Arab Maghreb Union and bolster its unitary effectiveness as a step toward the achievement of the comprehensive Arab unity. Exert diplomatic effort to stop Zionist infiltration in the African continent and use economic relations between the Great Jamahiriyah and African countries in the service of the Arab cause. To intensify Arab and international effort to stop the immigration and the relocation of the Soviet Jews to occupied Palestine. Consider the brother leader of the revolution's speech at the Nonaligned Movement summit meeting in Yugoslavia in 1989 as a solution to the problem of world Jewry.

The need to pay more attention to Arab colonies abroad, absorb them in pan-Arab programs of information and struggle and benefit from their scientific and technical capabilities.

Affirm that permanent relations are with peoples and not with governments. Therefore, it is paramount to preach the Jamahiri thought and develop relations with popular organizations, particularly the American popular organizations and world liberation movements. Develop relations with the Islamic countries.

To develop relations with Islamic countries.

To charge the People's Committee of People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation to follow up the Libyan Arab-Italian relations and to work toward the implementation of the Basic People's Conferences' resolutions regarding compensation and exiles, and to create suitable conditions for relations based on mutual cooperation and respect;

To develop relations with West European countries that adopt stands that are independent from the policy which is hostile to the Jamahiriyah as a means of breaking the blockade on the Great Jamahiriyah.

To prepare the reports of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation in time for the Basic People's Conference to examine and study them seriously.

To amend the statute on those working abroad in a way that would conform with the working term of the people's committees in the Great Jamahiriyah.

To stress the observations of the people's follow-up organ.

To support the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison with resources that would increase its activities to improve relations with other countries. [passage indistinct]

To assign employees at brotherhood and people's bureaus to provide the best service for citizens, particularly those sent abroad to study or for [medical] treatment.

Not to assign former administrators of bureaus and those who have not gained popular nomination to any political missions.

Fourth, support to the revolution of stones [intifadah].

The BPC's discussed the issue of support to the revolution of stones and decided to support the persistence of the revolution of stones, and expressed the following observations:

1. To continue material and moral support to the revolution of stones, to ensure that the support reaches the leadership of the intifadah, to call on the Arab countries to open their borders for guerrilla action and charge the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation to follow that up.
2. Confront all attempts to abort [jihaz] and reject capitulatory solutions aimed at abandoning the Palestine issue; on the basis of the awareness of the masses and their perception of the Arab-Zionist conflict as a conflict for existence and not one for borders; and to work toward stopping the relocation and immigration of Jews to occupied Palestine.
3. To stress the efforts made by the brother leader of the revolution to support the Palestinian armed revolution and the revolution of stones, and for the unity of Palestinian factions.
4. Call for an Arab conference to discuss the Palestine issue at the Arab and international levels, and to support the revolution of stones and strengthen armed action against the Zionist enemy.
5. Along with the Islamic states, to stand firmly by the Palestinian people and support the revolution of stones in international meetings, define stances toward the states which have resumed relations with the Zionist enemy.

Fifth, Libyan Arab-Egyptian meetings and contacts

The BPC's reviewed the meetings and contacts between the Great Jamahiriyah and the Arab Egypt in the framework of the relations of fraternity which link the one Arab people in the two countries, particularly the meetings between the brother leader of the great al-Fatih revolution and President Husni Mubarak which led to good results liable to strengthen the ties of fraternity and unity between the sons of the one Arab people. The BPC's highly considered the pan-Arab stance of the brother of the revolution in taking the initiative in the framework of strategic fundamental principles which govern the pan-Arab stances of the Great Jamahiriyah and note the following observations:

1. The necessity to continue to work for the severance of the link between Egypt and the Zionist enemy and make efforts for the achievement of unity between the Great Jamahiriyah and Egypt.
2. To eliminate all the administrative obstacles from the imaginary border region between Egypt and strengthen the cohesion between the masses in the two countries.
3. To work for the implementation of integrity and all the agreements signed between the Great Jamahiriyah and Egypt together with stressing the necessity to use barter trade and deal in local currencies in trade and economic exchange between the two countries.

Seventh [as heard]: The signature of agreements and treaties.

The BPC's reviewed the agreements and treaties with fraternal and friendly states, which were submitted to the second session of the BPC's and approved; observations were also made which must be borne in mind in the future. These observations are as follows:

To give priority to the agreements and treaties with Arab countries and stress the pan-Arab and unionist orientation of their contents.

To implement the recommendations of the brother leader of the revolution in setting up the joint projects of integration between the Great Jamahiriyah and the other states.

To work for the payment of loans granted by the Great Jamahiriyah to other states in accordance with the agreements signed with them and not to grant them new loans until they pay their debts.

Eighth, amendment of some provisions of the treaty for the setting up of the Arab Maghreb Union:

The BPC's discussed the amendment of some provisions of the treaty of the Arab Maghreb Union which were issued by the Presidential Council of the Union and approved them. [applause]

Article 9: On the Unionist Project Between the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and Sudan

In compliance with the unionist project submitted by General 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir, chairman of the Revolutionary Council for National Salvation of the Republic of Sudan to the brother Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the great al-Fatih revolution and in compliance with the unionist call made by the custodian of pan-Arabism on the 13th anniversary of the proclamation of people's authority and the birth of the first Jamahiriyah in history, the GPC—on the basis of the document of the proclamation of the establishment of people's authority by which the Libyan Arab people, affirmed its absolute conviction in the unity of the Arab homeland from the Gulf to the Atlantic, its attachment to comprehensive Arab unity and its struggle for achieving it under the leadership of the custodian of

pan-Arabism and Arab unity, the brother Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great al-Fatih revolution—announces its acceptance of the unionist project between the Great Jamahiriyah and the Republic of Sudan and decides to submit it to the BPC's which have authority and sovereignty.

The GPC confirms that comprehensive Arab unity constitutes the natural sole response of the Arab nation to the various challenges confronting it, and that Arab unity in the conviction of the Libyan Arab people is the road to salvation of the masses of the Arab nation from all the tools of oppression, tyranny and backwardness, on the road to the realization of the Arabs' Great Jamahiriyah in which the freedom and happiness of man is embodied through his owning of authority, wealth and arms, and it is necessarily a consolidation of the factors of complementarity and bond among the capabilities of the Arab homeland and Africa, and a confirmation of the unity of the roots of their common struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and racism.

The general people's congress [applause]

Of course among the general resolutions concerning the resignations: The GPC took notice of the resignations submitted from the GPC secretariat and a number of the secretaries of the General People's Committees and decided to postpone considering them until the next extraordinary session after the completion of the selection operation at the people's conferences and committees. [applause]

GPC resolution inviting the BPC's to meet:

The GPC invites the BPC's to meet in an extraordinary secret session on Saturday, 17 March 1990 to discuss what was submitted by the brother leader in his intervention before the GPC in its open session and especially his clarifications on the implementation of the revolutionary program. This guarantees for the Libyan Arab people the building of progress and consolidates its pioneering role in leading the peoples toward the era of the masses and which enables the realization of the unity of the Arab nation, the preservation of its dignity, and the confrontation of the program of colonialism. The BPC will also discuss in this session the strategic issues which pertain to the future of the Arab nation submitted by the brother leader in the secret session of the GPC. Forward, the revolutionary struggle continues. The GPC [applause]

Saddam: Arabs Must 'Stand Firmly' on Immigration

JN1103185190 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Excerpt] President Saddam Husayn has inspected a number of construction sites for developing tourist facilities in the autonomous region of Kurdistan. During the tour, his excellency met with a group of workers and listened as they raised several topics and general problems. In response, his excellency stressed that man needs to live a worthwhile life and that he should work to upgrade the status of his homeland and and develop his country.

Commenting on a point raised by a fraternal Arab worker on the influx of Soviet Jews to the occupied territories, the president leader said: We as Arabs must stand firmly against the United States and the USSR as far as the issue of immigration is concerned. The immigration is not only a Soviet concern; that is, the decision was not only that of the Soviet Union. Both countries sat down together and made the decision. The United States pressed the Soviet Union into making the decision. We made this very clear at the Amman summit. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister 'Aziz Returns From Tunis

JN1203155290 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1535 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Baghdad, 12 Mar (INA)—Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, today returned to Baghdad after heading the Iraqi delegation to meetings of the Arab League Council's 93d ordinary session, which began in Tunis the day before yesterday.

The three days of meetings covered many issues, including the situation between Iraq and Iran, military cooperation between the Iranian regime and the Zionist entity, the Palestine question, the Arab-Zionist conflict, Soviet Jewish immigration into occupied Palestine, Arab-Afri.. n relations, and the Euro-Arab dialogue.

Malian Presidential Envoy Arrives 10 Mar

JN1003210190 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Alioune Blondin Beye, personal envoy of Malian President General Moussa Traore to His Excellency President leader Saddam Husayn and member of the Central Executive Bureau of the ruling Mali People's Democratic Union, arrived in Baghdad this evening.

In a statement to INA, Beye said that he will convey a written message from Malian President Moussa Traore to His Excellency President leader Saddam Husayn. The Malian envoy paid tribute to the peace initiative announced by His Excellency President leader Saddam Husayn in the historic speech he delivered to mark the 69th anniversary of the establishment of the valiant Iraqi Army. He described it as a great initiative that seeks to establish security and peace in the region. He added that this initiative was favorably met and welcomed by the Malian Government and people.

The Malian envoy was received at the airport by Sa'dun Shakir, member of the Revolution Command Council, and a number of Foreign Ministry officials.

Delivers Message for Saddam

JN1103130290 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1200 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Baghdad, 11 Mar (INA)—His Excellency President Saddam Husayn has received a written message from Malian President Moussa Traore.

Taha Yasin Ramadan, Revolution Command Council member and first deputy prime minister, received the message on behalf of his excellency the president when he received Alioune Blondin Beye, member of the Central Executive Bureau of the ruling Mali People's Democratic Union.

During the meeting, the Malian envoy conveyed the greetings of Malian President Moussa Traore to His Excellency President Saddam Husayn and said that the Malian president highly values the peace initiative announced by his excellency the president on the eve of the celebrations marking the 69th anniversary of the establishment of the valiant Iraqi Army, which was marked on 6 January.

The first deputy prime minister asked the Malian envoy to convey the greetings of His Excellency President Saddam Husayn to President Moussa Traore.

During the meeting, which was attended by the Iraqi ambassador in the Republic of Mali, bilateral relations and ways to develop them in all spheres were discussed.

Makes Statement, Departs

JN1303074490 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 0500 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] The personal envoy of Malian President Moussa Traore to President leader Saddam Husayn, Mr. Alioune Beye, member of the Central Executive Bureau of the ruling Mali People's Democratic Union, left Baghdad last night.

In a statement to INA, the Malian envoy said that he had delivered a written message to President Saddam Husayn from Malian President Moussa Traore. Mr. Boya expressed his thanks and appreciation to Iraq for the great hospitality he received from Iraqi officials. He affirmed that relations between Iraq and the Republic of Mali are firm.

He was seen off at the airport by Revolution Command Council Member Sa'dun Shakir and a number of Foreign Ministry officials.

Peres Addresses Labor Central Committee Meeting

TA1203163790 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1517 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Speech by Shim'on Peres, vice prime minister and finance minister, at the Labor Party Central Committee meeting in Bet Berl—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, in the next two or three days our movement, as well as the whole nation, will face very serious decisions about the future of our land, state, and nation. I admit I am proud of our movement entering this decisionmaking process. It is entering it on a clear path and in a united way. All the attempts to break up the camp from inside have failed. We are united. [applause] All the attempts to make our path unclear also have failed. We are a well-built party vehicle wishing to head toward peace. This, more than anything else, is the essence of the issue. I wish to state what has happened in the Likud is just what is stopping the Likud from taking a clear path and maintaining the unity of their camp.

This situation is similar to a team that decided to head in a certain direction in two cars: One is a Labor Party car, the other is the Likud's. In the middle of the road an argument, as it were, erupted between the two concerning the road. What I am saying is the argument is not about the road. It is about the condition of the car. Unfortunately, the way I see it—and I refrained from attacking the Likud during its days of hardship—the Likud's situation today is similar to a car that has lost one wheel, then another, then a third. On the other hand, an additional horn was added, a second steering wheel, and the whole thing is simply not moving. Three constraints people, five who have reservations, 10 loyalists, and a dozen uncertain. What can be done with this?

The issue is not Jerusalem or the PLO. The issue is the condition of the Herut movement. Mr. Shamir tried to take a ride toward peace, but his car could not hold up. Begin tried, and arrived where he did. Hats off to him. Now the car has stopped midway. Before I explain this I want to state: The issue of Jerusalem is not on the agenda. The nation is united around Jerusalem. [applause] They must stop using Jerusalem as an excuse. I do not know anyone from this camp who is willing to jeopardize Jerusalem's unity, sovereignty, or its being Israel's capital, as the Knesset decided when Levi Eshkol was prime minister. [applause]

It is true we disagree with the Americans. Just as U.S. President Bush and Secretary of State Baker say no to the united Israeli policy on Jerusalem, I say—calmly and confidently—that we are saying no to Bush's and Baker's policy on the issue of Jerusalem. [applause] We are not concealing anything. There is nothing unclear about this. Just as the United States disagrees with us, we disagree with it. We can be friends and still have disagreements. There is one difference: Had this been Washington, I would have said the Americans are right. Since this is Jerusalem, I say Israel is right. We must not turn everything into rhetoric. We talk about Jerusalem in a language of deeds. Mikha Harish has already mentioned the outstanding leadership of Jerusalem under Mayor Teddy Kollek in building, uniting, and advancing Jerusalem. We are proud of him. He is our messenger. [applause]

I wish to add one more sentence about the PLO. I could speak about the PLO emotionally. I do not want to be emotional; I want to be rational. Why are we seeking a delegation from the territories and not one from Tunisia? From my viewpoint, there are two or three logical reasons: The first is we want to negotiate with the residents of the territories, not with the Palestinians, wherever they are. This is very clear. Those who live in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza are the ones with whom we want to reach an agreement. This is one difference.

The other difference is we want to conduct negotiations with an elected delegation, rather than an appointed one—a traditional one. The whole world is heading toward democratization. We believe if we go for elections, it will replace terror. Terror exists wherever there are no elections. Decisions are being made only with bullets and violence. The absence of democracy breeds violence. In this violence—in most cases—the extremists shoot the moderates. We are witnessing these shots being fired at the moderates in the territories today.

We are proposing to replace shots, terror, and violence with elections and negotiations. We are willing to meet the Palestinians respectfully and seriously—as they are, as we are—to reach an agreement. That is why I am certain in saying, on your behalf: Jerusalem is not an issue. Jerusalem is uniting the nation, not dividing it. We will not allow the Likud to introduce a split in the nation about Jerusalem. The split on the outside can be handled together. The same holds true when it comes to the PLO.

Now, you may ask—and rightfully so—why did you pose an ultimatum? First of all, we presented only ourselves with an ultimatum. Did we threaten anyone? Take, for example, the case of Mendes-France, the great Jewish prime minister of the past who used to pose ultimatums to himself. He used to set deadlines of 30 days, 40 days. Looking back, I can say that unless Mendes-France presented himself with goals, he would not have attained them.

Why have we, in this case, set a deadline? We must be reasonable and answer this question. The reason is simple: We have reached the conclusion that Shamir will try to conduct a policy which is neither negative nor positive. He will, in fact, avoid making a decision and will try to lead us to the desert of indecision. Why? Not because he cannot say yes or no. The reason is very simple: If he says no to Baker, he risks relations with the United States. If he says yes to Baker, he risks his relations with the constraints camp. He can afford neither. This morning I heard Minister Hammer. He is full of good will. Unfortunately, his contribution to reality is far more modest. Can Mr. Hammer promise Shamir he

will have a united camp? Is this serious? The lack of unity in the Shamir camp prevents him from making a decision. All of a sudden Shamir said in the Inner Cabinet: We did not discuss the issues. What is the meaning of this?

In April, Baker sent a letter to Foreign Minister Arens concerning the deportees and the Palestinian delegation. When Mr. Shamir went to the United States, the President spoke to him about it. Yitzhaq Rabin filed a report when he returned from the United States. I reported when I returned from Cairo. I want to say that we did not know. They gave the impression they are not going to say no. Until the very last moment, we did not know whether the Likud was for or against. We will never know, because the moment it becomes known, we will learn they are the Likud.

With all due respect, we cannot sacrifice a national cause for the sake of another party, or of ours. Absolutely not. What is there to clarify? What does Mr. Shamir want us to discuss? I want to add the three issues he raised are not new. We knew there are disagreements between us concerning the voting of the approximately 140,000 Palestinians who reside in East Jerusalem. Mr. Moshe Nisim rose—and incidentally, when a car is in such a dismantled condition, not even Nisim can make a miracle—and said he is in favor of the Arabs from East Jerusalem voting for the Jordanian parliament. If they vote for the Jordanian Parliament, does this mean Jerusalem is the capital of Jordan? I want to understand this. What is this nonsense? They can vote for the Jordanian Parliament, but they cannot vote outside Jerusalem for the autonomy? We have said this and let me repeat: Jerusalem will not be part of the autonomy in the territories—because Jerusalem is a sovereign part of the State of Israel. That is why we had no choice but to deal with this trick, with this Likud dead end.

Let us say we agree. We will wait one week, two weeks. For a long time they have told us: Wait, the Americans have not yet addressed us. They have. There was a time when they told us: The Egyptians have not yet replied. They have. There was a time when they told us: We do not know exactly what the Americans said. You know what we did? We heard Arens' briefing, and in it we pumped out, word for word, what Baker asked him, and we said: Let us say yes to this. We did not add or drop anything, we did not quiver, did not brag, nor did we deprecate it. We said: Here is the question, and this is the answer.

Why is this answer important? It is important for us that a Palestinian side be created with which we can negotiate. Here, for the first time, a Palestinian side would be created, and we can sit with it. If we say no, there will be no more Palestinian side. We will be left with only a Tunisian address. Let me say one thing that is grave and real. Who created this situation? Was it not Shamir? Was it not the Likud? By stopping the Jordanian option--and I hope they did not kill it—they have opened all the doors to the Palestinians, the PLO, and 'Arafat. Who are they reproaching today? Who brought us to this situation? And I say: Had we given a negative reply to the Palestinian delegation, it would not only have been a no to that. The way I see it, it would have been a yes to Tunisia. The United States will not stop here. This must be understood thoroughly. Why do we prefer a delegation with one or two deportees, one that includes a person from the territories, who appears in the population register and who has an address or a workplace in Jerusalem? Because the alternative is not the Likud stand. The alternative is the U.S. stand, and in fact, the stand of the whole world. Meaning, a PLO address.

This is the last barrier before a PLO address. Pay heed! When the Likud said no to the Jordanian option, what was Shultz' reaction? Let us start a relationship and open talks with the PLO. It did not happen until then. When we negotiated with Jordan, there were no discussions with the PLO. We stopped talking to Jordan, and the U.S. reaction followed. I need not say the whole world in fact supports the U.S. stand more than it supports ours. The United States is really the true big friend we still have.

Ladies and gentlemen, one of the issues Ben-Gurion always used to refer to in relation to the Likud was its rhetoric, its talk, and its declarations. Why did they have to make the remarks on Greater Israel in relation to aliyah? One clause raised so much opposition. It has perhaps prevented direct flights from Moscow to Israel. Now I fear they will do to Jerusalem what they have done to aliyah. It is not as if there are differences between us and the United States on Jerusalem; rather it is as if there are differences among ourselves. What is the logic of this? What is the point of telling the world the nation is not united around Jerusalem when it is?

I have said before if Shamir says yes to Baker, there is no more Likud. This is his problem. Yesterday morning, Rabin made a compromise proposal saying: OK, if you believe this is the bone of contention, let us postpone the discussion and bring the issue before the Knesset. The problem, however, is not this. Saying there is a dispute over this issue is the excuse, not the reason. It is the reason, and not the focus [as heard]. David Grossman [Voice of Israel radio reporter and writer] once said about a certain woman that she has moods, not reasons [reference to Tehiya Knesset Member Ge'ula Kohen]. [laughter] This is a mood, not a reason. This is the state of a movement. All this time we have avoided entering the trap our friends the journalists have set for us. Tell us, they asked, do you want to quit, leave, set up a government? Our concern is not a government or ministerial portfolios. Our concern is the peace process. We have systematically avoided replying to questions that are different from the one we have posed ourselves: Will there be a peace process or not?

To this I say: This party has the authority, power, and ability to move further to the peace process in its own car. This is the issue. [applause]

Allow me just one commercial [preceding word in English]: The newspapers say I have offered portfolios; that I have offered this person to be vice prime minister and the other person to be finance minister; that I made lists, dropped, and added names. I am very glad to witness the dynamics of Israeli politics. I have no part in it. I neither made promises of ministerial appointments to any party member, nor did I make such promises to anyone outside the party. I certainly have talked, and will continue to do so, with the potential partners to the peace process, whether in a national unity government or in another way. [applause]

[Applause for Labor Party member Abba Eban, who is said to have just entered the meeting hall] I join in the greetings to Abba Eban. Welcome.

I would like to make clear what I learned from the talks with the representatives of the religious parties. Well, let me say none of them raised the who is a Jew issue; this issue is not on the agenda at all. They raised three or four matters. First, they want equality in educational matters, equality regarding classes, budgets, so on and so forth Let me say the Labor Party, including me, voted for such a process of achieving equality when we were in the opposition, too.

I do not see any sin in us supporting an improvement in the degree of equality between religious and nonreligious children. We are not at all interested in depriving a child who comes from a religious family. I also humorously told them that after all, all heretics were born in religious homes; one must not forget this.

The second point is that of the status quo on religious affairs, to which the Labor Party always has been committed. Third—and this is important to understand; this always has been the basis of our relations with the religious—freedom of voting on political issues. The National Religious Party, for example, did not agree with Golda Meir on negotiations with Jordan. We said then that we had the authority to conduct negotiations, and that when we reached the stage of results, we would appeal to the people. Today, too, we have not yet asked...[changes thought]

What is this outline we are proposing? First, elections. Second, an interim arrangement in the shape of autonomy. Third, as far as the permanent arrangement is concerned, both the Labor Party and the religious parties will make a decision, and we will enter negotiations. To this, today, one can add Jerusalem's indivisibility. In my opinion, understanding can be reached on these four points with a camp that not only has a territory, but also a heaven; a camp that not only has land, but people who walk this land—people who have the problem entailed in the duty of saving endangered lives and who have a heaven with a great God and Jewish values.

We shall not enter negotiations with other parties before the fate of the government is decided. Still, we definitely shall conduct talks with all parties to move the peace chariot forward. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to conclude my remarks by saying it primarily is the peace process that is on our agenda. The second issue involves immigration momentum. Here, too, I would like to assert quietly that how we will absorb immigration is up to us. But it also is dependent on others—how the immigrants will be allowed to leave and where they will be admitted. Here I am proposing a Jewish foreign policy, meaning a policy that will enable the Jews to leave without a hitch and to be absorbed en masse, to leave the USSR without a hitch and to be absorbed without a hitch in the State of Israel, not elsewhere.

I do not accept the thesis whereby it should not be important to us whether the Jews go to Uganda or Washington. Their destination is important to us, since the key problem of the Jewish people is the disproportion between the greatness of the spirit and the insignificance of the body. The body will enlarge here and there will be bearers for the spirit. We need them, and they need us. They have no Jewish fate other than in Israel. Conversely, we need this aliyah to guarantee Israel's Jewish fate.

The means for absorbing this aliyah will be found. If it is possible to get them from overseas, we shall do so. If not... [changes thought] Histadrut Secretary Yisra'el Qeysar visited me this morning. I believe this is the only Histadrut secretary in the world who came and said: The Israeli Labor Federation wants to aid on the matter of aliyah; if you decide on a tax for this, so be it. I then thought about the similarity between the emperor [pun on Secretary Qeysar's name, emperor in English] of the laborers and Otzar Hayehudim [first Zionist bank, renamed Bank Le'umi in 1951, which still functions as a liaison between Bank Le'umi and the Zionist Federation]: Both of us seek Jews before we seek money. This is noteworthy.

First then, the peace process. Second, aliyah momentum, and only if there is peace can we guarantee what I said before: that the gates will be open, the effort to bring the Jews to Israel will not be hurt, and we will have the means to absorb them as we should. The third clause I am proposing today is to strengthen Jerusalem and guarantee its safety and integrity in the future. [applause]

This is the program of our movement. It is difficult to maintain the unity of the movement. I would like to add though, that during the one and a quarter years of our participation in the government, we not only have maintained our unity, but also made progress. I do not care that at the moment the Likud is stuck. I surely appreciate the fact the Likud has accepted several significant points: the issue of elections among the Palestinians; the recognition that a Palestinian camp or people exists; the need to open a dialogue with this camp; the possibility of opening this dialogue in Cairo; and U.S. involvement. This entire delicate fabric cannot be denied.

One should compare this with the previous record of the Likud and its leadership: no to Camp David—do not

forget the present Likud leaders said no to Camp David; no to an exit from Lebanon, the reason for which I do not understand; no to the Jordanian option; and the stubborn insistence on Tabah. I told Shamir at the time: Can Israel not survive without these 250 dunams of sunbathing strategy which do not belong to us? Can Israel not survive without 250 dunams of sunbathing? Is Tabah part of Jerusalem or the homeland?

The Likud does not say no to Jordan, and now says yes to the Palestinian issue to the extent that their strength can carry them. Their ability apparently has been exhausted, while we are at the peak of our strength.

Ladies and gentlemen, we shall move together and forward to peace, aliyah, a united Jerusalem, and to assembling the Jewish exiles in Israel. [applause]

Rabin Addresses Labor Party Central Committee

TA1203171590 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1543 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Speech by Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin to the Labor Party Central Committee at Bet Berl in Tel Aviv—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen: For more than 15 months now, whenever I addressed this forum or the party's Central Committee, I was one of those who warmly recommended, given the parliamentary results of the November 1988 elections, that we join a national unity government. I made this suggestion because I thought in the prevailing parliamentary circumstances, it would be preferable to promote the peace process or make attempts in that direction within the framework of a national unity government.

Until yesterday, I had no qualms about this and did not care about criticism, either at home or from the outside, for the following reasons: For the first time since the establishment of the national unity government on 14 September 1984, on 14 May 1989 the government came out with a peace initiative acceptable to all components of the government. Second, it was a peace initiative with the addressee, the partner for the Israeli-Arab dialogue, being the Palestinian residents of the territories. Third, this peace initiative was adopted in fact as the sole possible way—by both the United States, which promised to support it and help bring it to fruition; and later by Egypt, which joined at the behest of the United States to become another partner, besides Israel and the United States—of moving the process, despite the many obstacles in the Arab world, Europe, and the Soviet Union.

We reached a state of affairs in which the national unity government is in concert, agreeing to proceed to a dialogue between Israeli and Palestinian delegations in Cairo at the invitation of Egypt, so this could serve as a route toward elections in the territories; so an elected Palestinian representation could emerge to stand for the largest existing Palestinian subunit anywhere; and so the 1.6 million Palestinians have the right to vote, be elected, and represent themselves in the context of a two-phased peace process.

I disagree with my colleagues, some of them even from among our ranks, who from time to time say f we achieved nothing, what happened in the Likud would have happened in the Labor Party as well, had the peace initiative not attained all this. Let us not try to gloss over things: The arguments in the Likud not only are over personal matters; they also involve ideology. If the Likud got that far, I believe it is thanks to the progress we have made. We have reached a stage that could have been significant: the meeting in Cairo.

This is where something happened. The United States, together with Egypt, made efforts to move toward the Palestinians. I do not think that had it gone directly to the PLO in Tunis, the United States would have succeeded in doing so; certainly no Israelis would have attempted to talk to the PLO. It was nothing else but the wise and sane Israeli stance, the U.S.-Egyptian cooperation, and the interest of all these parties, which helped bring about a positive response to the Israeli process, all differences notwithstanding. This led to the deletion of many demands by Palestinians, no doubt from Tunis.

The Americans presented a question relating to the composition of the delegation. According to the secretary of state, a positive Israeli response to it would permit the convocation of the three foreign ministers, a decision on the composition of the delegation on a name basis, and movement toward the delegation meeting in Cairo.

Believe me, the Americans put a lot of thought and invested great efforts so the Egyptian-Palestinian side would accept this phrasing. The text of the official response never mentions anything beyond the question of whether Israel would favorably consider setting up a list on a name basis from among the residents of the territories [preceding five words in English], not the West Bank [preceding two words in English], not Gaza, but the territories [preceding two words in English]. Naturally, to this was appended the understanding it would be possible also to include a deportee or two, people who were recently expelled from the territories, as well as a resident who appears in the population register as a resident of the territories and who has either a domicile or an office or a similar business in Jerusalem.

In my opinion, this marks substantial progress compared to Egyptian demands, certainly compared to Palestinian demands. And yet we were surprised by the Likud ministers' resolution. What happened? Instead of answering the question as it stands—and at this stage we are not being asked by the Americans anything regarding Jerusalem or any other sphere; and we know the Americans accept the announcement about the members of the delegation would be made by Egypt and that the agenda would focus primarily on the preparation of

modalities and procedures for elections of a representation chosen by and of the inhabitants of the territories—instead of relating to the question that had been presented by the United States, a response to which—according to the Americans—would open the door to the meeting of the delegations in Cairo, the Likud failed to respond to the Americans, and furthermore attempted to constrain the Alignment.

This is the picture; this is the import of the Likud ministers' resolution. There is nothing clear in it about whether they are giving a positive response to Baker's question, whereas on the other hand, there is an attempt to avoid the question by casting doubt on the Labor Party's fealty toward Jerusalem.

Their doubts are not worthy of the dirt under our toenails. [applause] Who are they? Who are they? [applause] Who are Moshe Nisim, Arens, Qatzav—the great fighters for and faithful to Jerusalem? Do they have any moral right to cast these doubts in the first place? What is this?! It is therefore totally irrelevant.

Let me add this: Instead of discussing the answer that should be sent, they are running away from it. All of a sudden they discovered what is involved are deportees and inhabitants of the territories who own an apartment in Jerusalem. But the Inner Cabinet has been dealing with this for more than a year now! All of a sudden, Moshe Nisim—who decided to become the undertaker and bury the national unity government [laughter and applause]—had a revelation and discovered the return of a deportee could strengthen the demand for the right of return. Did Ari'el Sharon, when he was defense minister, not let deportees come back? And how! He allowed Nadim Zarru to return, and moreover appointed him mayor of al-Birah.

I never claimed that by making this move, he boosted the demand for the right of return. Did he not allow others to return as well? Did Minister Arens not permit deportees to return? All of a sudden, the return of a deportee equals the demand for the right of return! As they say in the Army: Bullshit. [laughter and applause]

The second thing is the issue of the vote of the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem who are not Israeli citizens. As is well known, all Israeli governments since the six-day war have offered Israeli citizenship to the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem. They still have that right, but most of them have declined. The issue was broached during the autonomy talks. How strange it was yesterday, when Shamir on the one hand said: We did not discuss the issue; but later he related how he and Begin met in 1982—that is, not a month or a year ago, but in 1982—with President Carter, and they argued the matter. No, I am sorry, it was with a different President. So where is the novelty?

There are two well-known positions. There is no point in discussing them. It is necessary to make a decision.

Incidentally, this topic cropped up in their heads out of the blue. But after all, in preparation for the Cairo meeting, the Inner Cabinet has not yet conducted a single debate on the modalities of the elections. That was wise, because as long we have not reached a decision on the makeup of the delegation, or who declares it, or the agenda—which we will do only after the three foreign ministers confer, which can come about only after Israel gives a positive response to Baker's question and the attendant understanding—we were right in not discussing the matter. So they picked on one subject, Jerusalem, out of a host of others and raised it.

My very strong impression is the Likud is avoiding giving an affirmative reply, which should be possible if it wanted to give peace a chance, without questioning the issues of Jerusalem, the right of return, or negotiations with the PLO.

I have no explanation—could anyone come up with one?—for the sudden halt, the abrupt attempt to stop the peace process. There was no reason not to give a favorable reply to the question as formulated by Baker. If they want to append to it a statement that Jerusalem will remain united, integral, as the inalienable and indisputable capital of Israel—that is included in the Alignment ministers' communique. If they want to add that autonomy, self-rule, or self-administration will not apply to any sovereign territory, certainly not to East Jerusalem, that can be added. We already have crucified ourselves a hundred times over the issue of objecting to a dialogue with the PLO. As for the right to vote—not the right to be elected—of an absent resident outside Jerusalem, as per the U.S. example, I think if the residents demand this, they should by right enjoy this.

As Shim'on [Peres] already has said and some Likud ministers also noted, they are Jordanian citizens and are eligible to vote there. Why should they not also vote for the self-rule authority, which is closer to them, knowing that body will have no power over their lives or the region in which they live? Moreover, to a certain extent, by presenting it as an absentee vote [previous two words in English], it highlights even more the fact they live under a sovereignty different than that of the body for which they are voting. I suggested this.

I never understood the Likud's considerations. After all, in the Inner Cabinet they have the option of blocking a vote. Today they really did not need to raise this. Supposing they are aware of a difference of opinion between us and them, when the issue is raised, someone will have to bring it up for discussion. But the balance in the Inner Cabinet is six versus six!

I cannot grasp the logic. Raising it is nothing but a pretext, because according to the coalition agreement, they have the right to block such a tendency. Why did they raise it at all? I think they did so to attract attention and draw the spotlight away from what should be the answer to the Americans—because they do not wish to respond to the Americans. It is meant to try to put the

blame for the absence of a response to the United States allegedly on the argument with us.

This is meaningless, because there is no argument over either Jerusalem or the negation of negotiations with the PLO.

If the Likud were capable, or if it becomes capable, of unequivocally providing an affirmative reply to Baker's questions—if they want, let us give them the right to insert a second emphatic note in the form of another resolution on Jerusalem; if they again want to mention no negotiations with the PLO, fine; if they want to let the East Jerusalem residents vote only outside Jerusalem, and then again mention they will not enjoy the right to be elected—there is no problem in passing such a resolution. Does it require deliberations? If they want to pass it to the Knesset or the Cabinet... [changes thought] [Religious Affairs Minister Zvulun] Hammer visited me. He told me: How about if, instead of a debate at the Knesset, you pass the matter on to the Cabinet plenum? I said: I have no problem with that, but first why not obtain an answer from the prime minister or the Likud stating they are prepared to give an unambiguous positive response to the question presented by Baker in the phrasing brought by Arens. Before the Likud gives such an answer, there is nothing to talk about. [applause] Without this, there is no basis for any solution.

I admit I regret things. I would have preferred to see the peace process proceed in the way I imagined; but there is no such process, and we are in a state of affairs which, in the eyes of the Americans, is not merely a hypothetical argument among Israelis, but is something for which they require an affirmative reply which says: There is a meeting of the three ministers; let us reach an agreement on the composition of the Palestinian delegation; then there will be a meeting in Cairo. In other words, according to the U.S. report, neither the Egyptian nor the Palestinian side is the impediment to furthering the process. Rather, it is the Likud's refusal to furnish Baker with an affirmative reply.

In this situation, despite my desire to continue the peace process within the national unity government, without a peace process—a fact resulting from the objection to providing a positive reply to Baker's question—I see no point in the continued existence of a unity government that blocks the process, instead of promoting it.

This is the question we are faced with. This is the question Likud members should ask themselves today or tomorrow, as it is impossible to carry on. There is nothing over which to drag things out.

The Egyptians gave the Americans answers. Two and a half weeks ago, maybe more, we were given this question. So this period of two and a half weeks should have been used to do some thinking. The positions are known and the picture is clear. Therefore, the existence or nonexistence of the national unity government in light of the reality of Egyptian-Palestinian readiness as relayed to us via the United States in a reasonable way acceptable to us to allow for the continuation of the process, when the hurdle is placed by the Likud in its refusal to give a positive answer, puts the onus for the political and internal ramifications of this in Israel on them. No one else should be blamed.

Let me relate something I heard in the Labor Party Bureau session as a side remark: The failure to give the United States a response is being presented as a serious threat to Israel-U.S. relations. I am not ignoring this. I would not recommend, however, that we present this as the central problem. I think the peace process, the need to make progress toward peace and exhaust every chance for peace, is first and foremost an Israeli need. [applause] I do not need either threats or appeals by the United States. The decision is ours and should be made out of a review and sober assessment of the reality and our interests. It pleases me to know the Americans share this sentiment. Obviously, when the United States shares views, it is meaningful and has an impact in many fields.

I therefore have reached the response not out of fear of the Americans, not out of concern over Egypt's stance, but first of all, out of a comprehensive view of what is best for Israel. This is the main consideration, none other. Of course there are other considerations, but the central one should be whether this is good and whether it promotes the chances for peace. This is the guideline and the chief criterion.

I furthermore would like to say we should react to the inappropriate remarks made by heads of the U.S. Administration on the issue of Jerusalem. I know they have a fixed position; I have known it since 1968, and it has not changed substantially. By the way, the United States did not recognize divided Jerusalem as the capital of Israel between 1949 and the Six-Day War.

The reunification of Jerusalem did not change its attitude for the better in any way. By the same token, we should tell them: Where Jerusalem is concerned, we know what your position is. We are small, you are big, but we have the right to disagree with you. Where the development of Jerusalem is concerned, this is our business. We have done things in that sphere, we are continuing to work in that area, and will continue to act—though not so much in word as in deed. [applause]

I therefore repeat: Unfortunately—and I admit a certain measure of surprise—a move has been halted by the Likud's refusal to offer a positive reply to a question around which scores of deliberations were conducted, both with the Americans and here, in a bid to divert attention to issues that have nothing to do with the answer to the Americans—questions that are unnecessary, unjustified, and are soluble.

The problem, the impediment, and the obstacle to furthering the peace process is the fact the Likud prevented a vote on giving a positive answer. If it does give such an answer, the problem would be resolved; if it does not, it

will be necessary to weigh things according to the draft resolution and decide where the Labor Party is going.

I believe we have done whatever was necessary, and that we promoted an infrastructure for a peace process—an infrastructure that has won broad national approval. If it is severed, there is no point—there is no point—in continuing the partnership. [applause] How we will tackle this is a different issue. It is preferable to find an agreed-upon solution, but let us not discuss it here today.

I am proud to be a representative of the Labor Party in the national unity government, because we conceived an initiative and advanced it, although the road still is long. But the peace process, ladies and gentlemen, will be long. It will stretch for years. The problem is to make sure there is constant progress; the alternative is stalemate. It is our job to guarantee ongoing progress. We will do that in every possible way. Thank you very much. [sustained applause]

Shamir Rejects Hammer's Compromise Proposal

TA1303054190 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Likud Knesset caucus last night issued a scathing statement, saying that the people of Israel had been witness to the shameful style espoused by the Labor Party bent on breaking up the government.

It charged that Labor had totally ignored the issue of Jerusalem and the question of the PLO taking over the peace process. Labor had thus pushed the country into a political whirlpool.

At the same time, some Likud ministers have indicated that they discern an opening for further talks, particularly in the remarks made by Defense Minister Rabin.

A late report this morning says that the compromise proposal pushed yesterday by the National Religious Party's Zvulun Hammer has not been accepted by Prime Minister Shamir.

Sources close to the prime minister are denying that he intends to sack the Labor ministers today, but political experts point out that Prime Minister Shamir will have to make a decision one way or another during the day. To fire a minister, he must do so at a Cabinet meeting.

Secondly, it takes effect within 48 hours. This would be just before the Knesset meets on Thursday [15 March] to hear motions of no-confidence in the government. If the Labor ministers are not dumped beforehand and the government is defeated on Thursday, they would remain in the government acting as a caretaker administration. One problem facing the prime minister is that Labor's decision yesterday was couched in general terms—not a word about planning to leave the government yet.

Meanwhile, each of the two major parties is vigorously canvassing support in anticipation of Thursday's vote. Labor leaders met last night with the heads of the Agudat Yisra'el orthodox party. The five Aguda votes are crucial if Labor does move to try to bring down the government in a no-confidence vote. But at this stage, no one is certain which way the wind blows. Labor hopes that the Aguda's known anger with the Likud for allegedly reneging on earlier promises will sway the party. But some Aguda leaders are said to be hesitant to plunge the country into a crisis, the outcome of which looks as solid as the wind.

Agudat Yisra'el Member on Meeting Labor's Peres

TA1303061790 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Telephone interview with Agudat Yisra'el Knesset Member Menahem Porush by Me'ir Einstein—live]

[Text] [Einstein] Good morning, Knesset Member [MK] Porush. Will you really support the no-confidence motion on Thursday [15 March]?

[Porush] I am sure you know we already have been outside of the coalition. Why the sudden furor over whether we will vote no-confidence or not? We have no confidence in the government. In this case, we have to decide which no-confidence motion we will support on Thursday, but we have no confidence in the government. I am just surprised, and excuse my comments on the Likud's current contemplation of whether to dismiss the Labor ministers...

[Einstein, interrupting] Wait a minute, we have yet to get to that. I first would like to deal with the issues that pertain directly to Agudat Yisra'el. I understand you met with Shim'on Peres and with Minister Rafi Edri last night. Have you already discussed the establishment of a narrow-based government if the incumbent government indeed falls in the no-confidence vote?

[Porush] We clarified one thing: It is inconceivable for anyone to think we would countenance—and we also were happy to hear this from the Alignment leaders—that they have any intention of harming the indivisibility of Jerusalem, even in the slightest. I would like to state here... [changes thought] I was born in Jerusalem; my family has lived in Jerusalem for 10 generations. Jerusalem undoubtedly is a holy city, but this is the first time I have ever heard that the Arabs who live in the city also are holy. Which of us is interested in the status of East Jerusalem Arabs?

[Einstein] Meaning you would be willing to join a narrow-based government led by Shim'on Peres?

[Porush] I have not said this yet, but we undoubtedly do not support the national unity government. We were opposed to a national unity government from the outset. We know it does not work.

[Einstein] Rabbi Porush, although your party resigned from the coalition, it has refrained from committing

itself to either side. What happened late last night to make you decide finally to take action?

[Porush) What action? We have done nothing yet....

[Einstein, interrupting] Did you not discuss the distribution of portfolios, for instance?

[Porush] We have not had confidence in the government for a long time. How can we express confidence in a government that abandoned us and a prime minister who does not fulfill any of his promises? How can we vote confidence in him?

[Einstein] Speaking as a veteran parliamentarian, is there a majority to topple the government?

[Porush] Such a majority undoubtedly exists. Obviously, and this I would like to say, if the Likud ministers decide to dismiss the Alignment ministers now, this—despite all the tough talk at the Labor Party Central Committee yesterday—will actually be the deed that really will disband the government. I would consider this without a doubt to constitute an end to the Alignment government. [sentence as heard] If the Likud refrains from firing the Alignment ministers, then the same turnabout that occurred on Purim [when the Jews succeeded in overcoming their enemies] may happen again. But the minute the Likud dismisses them, it will show the Likud desires the breakup of the government. Then it will be the Likud disbanding the government.

[Einstein] Thank you, MK Porush.

Shamir Fires Peres; Alignment Ministers Resign

TA1303092890 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0844 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Report by political correspondent Natan Gutman from the Prime Minister's Office—live]

[Text] Here are the details: The government is about to end its term any minute now. The prime minister has fired Shim'on Peres, and the rest of the [Alignment] ministers are collectively resigning as this report is being broadcast.

We now will give the details of the Likud ministers meeting that ended a while ago. Prime Minister Shamir said: In the wake of the the Labor Central Committee resolution, we saw clearly what the Labor Party intends to do. We saw that Peres and Rabin agreed. Rabin is willing to accept our giving a positive reply to Baker and later discussing Jerusalem. The prime minister said: I do not believe the Labor Party will accept our views concerning Jerusalem. To go on like this and sit in the government would mean our being in the government is dependent on the goodwill of Labor or its consent. Today the Likud is the element standing between Israel and a Palestinian state.

The prime minister further said: I see no chance for a realistic and reasonable compromise between the Likud and the Alignment. That is why, in view of the threat and the Alignment announcement regarding the no-confidence issue, I have no choice but to take steps in the government against the Alignment men.

The prime minister is announcing the steps. We have learned the steps are the dismissal of Minister Peres. This was followed by the collective resignation of all the Alignment ministers.

Alignment Ministers Consider 'Future Steps'

TA1303094390 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0922 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Report by Ze'ev Kohen "from the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem"—live]

[Text] The Cabinet session has ended. Right now the Alignment ministers are convened in Mr. Peres' office near the Prime Minister's Office.

They are consulting and deciding on their future steps. At any rate, we have a few reports of what was said during the Cabinet session. Minister Shahal said the prime minister's action was not only a flagrant contravention of the coalition agreement, but also a severe blow to the chances for peace. The dismissal of the vice prime minister was the predictable move of a political wheeler and dealer. Gad Ya'aqobi said it was an act of national irresponsibility at a time when progress in the peace process is possible. Several ministers are coming out, and we will try to talk to them. Here comes Minister Tzur.

[Tzur] [Words indistinct] all compromises that would have led to a positive answer were rejected in a very cynical manner. Shamir chose the trick of firing Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres and, of course, all the other ministers subsequently resigned. The way is now open to a government headed by the Labor Party and Shim'on Peres, and I hope we can bring about the dismissal of the current government, which has lost any justification, as quickly as possible and establish an Alignment-led government.

Qatzav Says Likud-Led Government Only Option

TA1303104490 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0935 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Interview with Likud Transportation Minister Moshe Qatzav by Ze'ev Kohen outside the Prime Minister's Office and Razi Barqay in the studio—live]

[Text] [Kohen] Minister Qatzav, did you speak in the Cabinet session? And could you state your opinion on what is happening at this time?

[Qatzav] Yes. The way I see it, the responsibility for the unity government's breakup is solely the Labor Party's. The Likud was interested in maintaining the national unity government. The Likud had asked the discussions continue in the Inner Cabinet to advance the political

initiative. The Alignment ministers quit the Cabinet session and refused to continue the discussions. This very morning the Alignment ministers were asked to promise they would not vote for the no-confidence motion on Thursday...

[Kohen, interrupting] And they refused.

[Qatzav] They certainly did. For months the Alignment ministers have been attacking the government, setting up coalitions to break it down. Last night, they conducted lengthy meetings to look for ways to make the prime minister and the whole unity government fall. This is intolerable. There was no other way but to take the steps that we did.

[Kohen] In your estimate, what will happen after the no-confidence vote on Thursday?

[Qatzav] We hope a majority of the Knesset will express their confidence in the government. We will—for national, political, economic, social, and defensive reasons—make every effort to maintain the government and ensure its continued functioning. We must take into account the fact the resignation and the dismissal only will go into effect 48 hours from now. It is reasonable to assume that during these 48 hours, contacts will be conducted and efforts will be made to prevent the government from breaking up.

[Barqay] Minister Qatzav, as far as your own wishes go, assuming the government falls on Thursday—and our calculations indicate it will—do you prefer a narrow-based government led by the Likud, or would you prefer new elections?

[Qatzav] This is sincerely a sad moment for me. I would very much like to advance the political initiative. I believed in it according to the government resolution from May 1989. If the government falls on Thursday, I would rather see an agreement by everyone to go for early elections. I, however, understand this is not realistic at this moment. Most parties, most Knesset members, would rather not have elections at an early date, and that is why the Likud has only one choice and option: A narrow-based government headed by Yitzhaq Shamir, unless the situation changes in the next 48 hours.

[Kohen] The various calculators stated the Alignment has a better chance of forming a narrow-based government. Are you still optimistic?

[Qatzav] I am not pessimistic, neither am I optimistic. I do not see the Alignment setting up a narrow-based government. I cannot envision Shulamit Aloni, Verdiger, Shlomo Hilel, and Yosi Sarid sitting in one government, not from a political point of view and not from a religious one. There are far greater gaps between them on the national, political, and defensive issues than those that exist between the Likud and the Alignment.

[Barqay] Minister Qatzav, we heard some of the members of religious parties saying, perhaps not openly, but certainly implying, that they would have found it easier to join you in a narrow-based government had Shamir not been the one to set it up. Could you conceive of the idea of replacing your No. 1 with someone else so the Likud could remain in power?

[Qatzav] The Likud's candidate [for prime minister] is the movement's chairman, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir. No one even considers the idea or the proposal to replace him. I know all the Likud is united behind him.

Peres Announces Alignment No-Confidence Motion

TA1303104890 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0955 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Statement by Alignment leader Shim'on Peres at the joint news conference by the Alignment ministers following this morning's Cabinet session, at Peres' office in Jerusalem; broadcast in progress—live]

[Text] ...Mr. Shamir also has severely hurt the issue of immigration. I think his statements placed a question mark over direct flights from Moscow to Israel. In my opinion, he also made a terrible and unforgivable mistake on the matter of Jerusalem, in his attempt to divert public attention from the issues on the agenda and create the impression disagreements exist on the issue of Jerusalem. We all know a united Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is the common wish of most of the Israeli people and certainly the unquestionable desire of all members of the Labor Party. This was an attempt to cast blame on us, but this is typical of Shamir.

At today's Cabinet session, I told him he had disqualified himself, in the future as well, from ever being the prime minister of a national unity government. He has made the question of whether anyone ever will sign any sort of agreement with him a very debatable issue. I remember how the Likud doubted whether I would uphold the rotation agreement. I fulfilled my part. The Likud did not uphold anything. I do not know of one promise Shamir kept, and a man who cannot keep promises cannot, in my opinion, serve as the prime minister of Israel.

Finally, we, the Alignment ministers forum, decided to submit a no-confidence motion. I assume it is being submitted to the Knesset at this time. On this matter, we shall operate according to the developments that took place this morning.

Rabin Statement on Peres Dismissal, Resignations

TA1303105490 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0955 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Statement by Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin at the joint news conference by the Alignment ministers after the Cabinet session, at the vice prime minister's office on 13 March—live]

[Text] I would like to say something: As everyone knows, I supported the establishment of the national unity government. Despite the difficulties and the different views, I have, throughout this time, favored its existence. This stemmed from the simple assumption the peace process thus could be promoted.

Indeed, I believe during the 10 months since the Cabinet decided to launch its peace initiative, we have made several strides forward. But in the final analysis, for nearly three weeks we have been facing a central question, a positive response to which could open the door for the first step of a meeting between Israeli and Palestinian delegations, which is the corridor to elections and the beginning of the implementation of the Cabinet's peace initiative.

Deliberations were conducted, and most of the issues related to the positive response to the question and the understanding linked to it as presented by the U.S. secretary of state to Foreign Minister Arens have been discussed during a long period—the composition of the delegation, or who declares its makeup, or the agenda. In fact, an answer was requested. The Inner Cabinet conducted two extensive debates, and nearly five and a half hours of deliberations were devoted to this. But what did the discussion focus on? It focused on whether to give an affirmative answer, or what should be appended to that response.

The Likud, or the chairman of the Inner Cabinet session, decided not to raise the issue for a vote. I do not know what his reasons were. Several proposals were raised. This morning the Likud, or rather Prime Minister Mr. Shamir, made a decision to dissolve the government. Before that decision, admittedly, I was asked to meet with him. He presented to me the following question: Would the Alignment, or the Labor Party, agree to start discussions in the Inner Cabinet tomorrow, Wednesday, and undertake as a precondition for that that it would not participate in any way in the submittal of the no-confidence motion. I told him there was no formal decision by the body authorized by the party's Central Committee—which is to say the Labor Party Bureau and the Labor Knesset faction—to vote no confidence.

At the same time, I told him I could not promise him such a resolution would be voted down. I then went back to my colleagues, reported to them, and again returned to his office. I told him that, to the best of my knowledge, if the Inner Cabinet meets tomorrow and there is willingness on the part of the Likud to adopt a positive response tomorrow based on the principles included in Minister Hammer's proposal, I believe it would be possible to conclude tomorrow with an Inner Cabinet resolution and resolve the crisis. This would pave the road to the continued existence of the national unity government and the promotion of the peace process, as the two—from our viewpoint—are linked to each other.

Mr. Shamir was not prepared to pledge that tomorrow's debate, if it begins, would indeed end. He said it might be postponed by two days or a week. In the absence of anything concrete from him, which I could either discern or which was explicitly verbalized regarding the date for the conclusion of the debate of the issue, I reiterated that to the best of my knowledge, if a debate is conducted tomorrow, and if the Likud is ready to reach a resolution based on the principles and points submitted by Minister Hammer; and, furthermore, if today preparatory work is done to formulate the response, it would be possible to reach a resolution tomorrow, and it would guarantee both the peace process and the existence of the government.

My impression was that as long as there was no absolute Labor Party undertaking not to participate in any no-confidence motion, no matter how long the Inner Cabinet may procrastinate in reaching a resolution, it would be impossible to reach an understanding. This was the development of things.

I believe that what the prime minister did this morning is a decision to dissolve the government. He could have suspected us or cast doubt on our intentions, but in effect, the practical responsibility for dissolving the national unity government is the decision by the prime minister, who was backed or coerced by evil counsel, and no doubt that is why he took the step that led to the dissolution of the government.

I regret this, but the decision was not in our hands; it was in the hands of the Likud, or rather in the hands of the prime minister. Therefore, the practical responsibility for dissolving the national unity government is that of the Likud, of the prime minister.

NRP, Tehiya, Tzomet for Shamir-Led Government

TA1303110590 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Tehiya faction will support the narrow government led by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir in the vote on the no-confidence motions on Thursday [15 March].

Professor Yuval Ne'eman expressed this position. The change in the Tehiya's position came as a result of the divorce Shamir gave the Alignment. The Tzomet faction, which has three Knesset members [MK's], also will support the narrow government that was left following today's Cabinet session in the Knesset vote on 15 March. Yitzhaq Levi, the secretary of the National Religious Party [NRP], announced his party will support Shamir's narrow government, and would on no account support an Alignment-led, narrow-based government. The Moledet faction still has not committed itself, and MK Ze'evi said that on 15 March, its position will be made known.

The Degel Hatora faction will meet tomorrow with Rabbi Shach [its spiritual mentor] to receive instructions. [passage omitted]

Likud Plan Said To Call for Shamir Resignation

TA1303111290 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1038 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Studio discussion between party affairs correspondent Shlomo Raz and anchorman Arye Golan]

[Text] [Raz] I have just received a copy of a Likud plan which the Alignment has already had since Friday. This is the plan outlining the stages in the Likud moves. It turns out that we are currently only in the first stage.

According to this plan, one of whose chief patrons is Minister Nisim, the first stage is for Shamir to fire Peres. This already is behind us. It transpires that this plan, or at least its first phase, already has been implemented.

During the second stage—and this could be the most interesting thing—Shamir is expected to go to the president on Thursday [15 March] at 1115 [0915 GMT] to submit his resignation. We will soon learn the import of such a step.

During the third stage, a narrow-based government will be in power without Peres.

The fourth stage calls for the Treasury to be transferred to the hands of Moshe Nisim.

In the fifth stage, Shamir will conduct negotiations with the potential partners in the alternative government, leaving the Finance Ministry in the hands of the Likud.

In the sixth stage, Shamir will compensate the religious parties by giving them assets in order to guarantee they will not support Peres as candidate for prime minister during the presidential consultations and guarantee their support for early elections or a narrow-based government headed by Shamir.

This is the six-phase plan the Likud is following. As it happens, several Likud ministers opposed it. Among them are Dan Meridor and David Magen; according to the information I have, David Levi abstained from supporting it.

The interesting thing, perhaps—and here we may have behind-the-scenes information—this plan reached the Alignment ministers, and they already knew about it yesterday. They also discussed it this morning. They obtained it from Likud circles.

[Golan] Was there no mention of the Defense Ministry?

[Raz] This is the plan as it was devised. The main elements in this plan, in terms of portfolios, are that the Treasury passes to Moshe Nisim. The very interesting issue, which is apparently our scoop, is that Shamir is expected to go to the president and resign on Thursday at 1115 in the morning.

[Golan] Before the no-confidence vote?

[Raz] Certainly.

Text of Shamir Announcement in Cabinet Meeting

TA1303115290 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1118 GMT 13 Mar 90

["Announcement" by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir in Jerusalem on 13 March—read by political correspondent Natan Gutman]

[Text] I feel it is my duty to bring to the Cabinet the following announcement:

By virtue of my authority, according to such and such clause of the Basic Law, the government, I want to hereby inform the government I have decided to dismiss Minister Shim'on Peres, the vice prime minister and finance minister.

The reason for this is Mr. Peres has acted and is acting for the disbandment of the national unity government and is undermining it. Peres charges the government unjustly of not working for the promotion of peace, which is its main duty, and that it therefore does not have the right to exist. Each Cabinet member is entitled to reach the conclusion the government should stop existing, but a minister who thinks so and acts for the toppling of the government cannot continue to be a member of it.

I am saying this with deep pain, since I have invested a lot in establishing and maintaining the national unity government, and have believed, as I still do today, that our situation nowadays requires the existence and policy of this government. Undermining the foundations of the national unity government harms the interests of the people and the country. To the best of my knowledge, the government is operating in the spirit of its basic guidelines, which were ratified in the Knesset, and is doing its best to implement the peace initiative that dates back to 14 May 1989. To my deep regret, Mr. Peres does not think or act so. Therefore, I had no choice but to put an end to his service in the government. The termination of Minister Peres' term will take effect after 48 hours.

Likud's Magen on Advancing No-Confidence Vote

TA1303115790 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1100 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Interview with Minister Without Portfolio David Magen by political correspondent Natan Gutman following the Likud ministers session at the Prime Minister's Office—live]

[Text] [Gutman] Minister David Magen, what did the Likud ministers decide in their meeting after the Cabinet meeting?

[Magen] We intend to convene the Knesset faction—we may do so even tonight—to explain the moves and point out that, naturally, it is impossible to run a government when parts of that government are trying to undermine it

and also to prepare for the future. I believe that, God willing, the Cabinet will win a vote of confidence on Thursday.

[Gutman] You tried to reach a compromise with Minister Rabin. What caused the ultimate blowup?

[Magen] I do not like the term compromise. I tried to find a way to salvage the national unity government, even at the cost of delaying the opening of the Cabinet session by an hour. I told Defense Minister Rabin that, based on a declaration made by the Alignment leaders yesterday that they are accepting Minister Hammer's initiative, which states the threats to dissolve the government should stop and efforts should be made to help maintain it, it would be sufficient if the Alignment proclaims prior to the Cabinet session it rescinds its threat to vote against the government in the no-confidence vote, thereby making it possible to save the government.

I deeply regret the Alignment leaders did not meet this simple challenge to remove the threat of disbanding the government.

[Gutman] In practical terms now, where is the Likud heading: toward a narrow government under its leadership or elections?

[Magen] From the Likud's point of view, from the political perspective nothing has happened. The government continues to function. It will make efforts, together with the national and religious factions, to consolidate a majority so the Cabinet will continue to operate after Thursday. I presume that after that, negotiations to strengthen the government will begin.

[Gutman] Minister Magen, you must have heard about the Alignment's intention to submit a no-confidence motion in the government to the Knesset and about the request the session be advanced to Wednesday—a move which could upset the entire applecart, as the resignation of the ministers will still not have come into effect. Are you tactically prepared for such an eventuality?

[Magen] This is the first time I have heard about this, but as a minister who has eight years of experience as a Knesset member and as a veteran parliamentarian, if I may say so, I am familiar with the Knesset regulations, and it is impossible to submit a no-confidence motion and vote on it in a 24-hour period. The tradition in the Knesset is that a no-confidence motion is voted on in 48 hours, not 24. At best, although I have not checked this fully in terms of the timetable, the Alignment can join the no-confidence motions that have been submitted for a vote on Thursday.

[Gutman] Thank you very much.

[In another interview with Minister David Magen on Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 1111 GMT, Magen says the alleged Likud six-phase plan and Shamir's plan to resign "are unfounded speculation." Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 1123 GMT adds that Minister Nisim "totally denies the plan that was supposedly attributed to him and which, according to him, was made public by the Alignment."]

Shamir News Conference on Latest Political Moves

TA1303132190 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1218 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Report from news conference given by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir on 13 March at the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] [Shamir] ...unity government has reached its end.

[Correspondent Ze'ev Kohen] Well, the prime minister has begun talking, and we will hear him.

[Shamir] What does reaching the end mean? Yesterday there was a meeting of the Labor Party Central Committee, and anyone watching and listening to the statements made at this convention received the clear message—even though this was not expressly spelled out—that the Labor Party had decided to disband the national unity government. And as if this was not enough, I watched an interview on television with Ramon, the chairman of the Alignment Knesset faction, who was explaining the Central Committee resolution.

He said the Central Committee had authorized the Alignment Knesset faction to decide upon the necessary parliamentary steps etc., and for those who had still not grasped the import of his words he added, with a wink, that all this is so as not to give the prime minister any pretext to take steps against us [the Alignment]. We, after all, are not fools or innocent children, and we knew what they were up to. Their intention was simple and clear: The Labor Party wanted to disband the national unity government, during or through, the no-confidence vote in the Knesset and leave its ministers in a caretaker government following its resignation or dismissal. [Unidentified correspondent] Does the national unity government still have any chance of survival? [Shamir] I would not say so, because even this morning, before my decision, I accepted appeals by both Likud members and Minister Hammer, and I met with Defense Minister Rabin and suggested to him that we agree to convene an additional Inner Cabinet session to discuss the contentious issues. This session would have been convened following the Knesset debate on the no-confidence motions that it would not be conducted under the threat of no confidence; let us say on Friday [16 March] or on Sunday [17 March], and afterwards we could decide. He did not agree. He went to consult with his friends and came back to me after a few minutes, saying the Alignment would agree to a contiuation of the session tomorrow [14 March], and that the results of this meeting would decide their position in the Knesset on Thursday [15 March].

[Ze'ev Kohen] Mr. Prime Minister, Religious Affairs Minister Hammer told us that the disagreements and gap between the Likud and the Alignment are not so great,

and this actually was a Likud attempt to twist the Alignment's arm. What have you to say?

[Shamir] With all due respect to Minister Hammer, this is not true. The disagreements are not so minor, to my great sorrow. I do not look for disagreement and differences, but they exist. First of all, regarding Jerusalem, which for understandable reasons we are very sensitive about—particularly these days, when we hear the voices emanating from the United States. What are these disagreements? They do not pertain to the statement that Jerusalem is the united capital of Israel, Israeli sovereignty and so forth. The question that will crop up in the upcoming meeting in Cairo is whether the Arabs of East Jerusalem will or will not participate in the elections for autonomy in Judaea and Samaria. The Likud firmly insists that, since Jerusalem is not part of Judaea and Samaria or part of the autonomy, the Arab residents of Jerusalem should not participate under any circumstances in the elections for autonomy. Because if they take part, everyone will reach the political conclusion that Jerusalem is the same as Judaea, Samaria and Gaza.

I could not help it that in the Inner Cabinet session, Mr. Peres talked about turning the 140,000 Arab residents of East Jerusalem into Israeli citizens and said: What do we care if Jordanian citizens residing in Jerusalem should vote in the elections for autonomy? I could not help it that in an interview he gave only the other day to a Belgian paper, Defense Minister Rabin said something more or less along the same lines: That the 140,000 Arab residents of East Jerusalem would vote in Gaza, Nablus, and some other Arab town to elect their representatives.

These are the differences of opinion, and they are substantial, vital, and very important when it comes to the status of Jerusalem. This is not the first time such an argument has erupted. As far back as during the negotiations on autonomy, about 10 years ago, with my own ears I heard the sharp argument between then-U.S. President Mr. Carter and Mr. Begin. Mr. Carter said the Arabs of East Jerusalem should take part in the elections for autonomy, while Mr. Begin said no way. We today are upholding the same position voiced by Mr. Begin, and this position upholds a Jewish and Israeli Jerusalem.

[Tel Aviv IDF Radio's Yaron Deqel] Mr. Shamir, if the government falls in Thursday's no-confidence vote in the Knesset, will you try to set up a narrow-based government led by yourself, or will you take action to bring the Knesset elections forward?

[Shamir] Well, I need not divulge now what our moves will be. Of course, the two options you specified will be weighed then: either to set up an alternative government or call for new elections. We will have to make up our mind.

[Kohen] Are you ruling out any additional reconciliation attempts, Mr. Prime Minister?

[Shamir] In the 48 hours left until the dismissal or resignation of the Alignment ministers goes into effect, things still can happen; the situation can turn around. As you know, I am not happy about what happened. I always have favored a national unity government in order to function, and I still favor it today.

[Deqel] Mr. Shamir, does Minister Peres' dismissal not denote a victory of the constraints' camp, of the hawkish over the dovish line in the Likud?

[Shamir] I never have heard them make such a demand. You should know that today, these days, there are no differences of opinion within the Likud. The Likud stands united and as one behind the position I and the Likud ministers adopted.

[Deqel] May I ask how the prime minister feels at a time when his government's existence is hanging by a thread?

[Shamir] Well, that does happen in politics. It is a feeling of crisis, accompanied by tension and belligerence.

[Deqel] You are not contemplating resigning your job?

[Shamir] No such notion has occurred to me. I see no reason for that.

Agudat Yisra'el To Join No-Confidence Vote

TA1303151490 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Rabbi Moshe Ze'ev Feldman, chairman of Agudat Yisra'el, has announced his party will join the no-confidence vote in Shamir's government and said the firing of Minister Peres has only strengthened this position.

Replying to a question by our correspondent Shlomo Raz, Rabbi Feldman said Agudat Yisra'el would not join a Likud-led, narrow-based government. He added that, although at one time his party had supported the Likud, there is no reason why it should not now support the Alignment.

NRP Not To Join No-Confidence Motion

TA1303155390 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1519 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Interview with Knesset Member Hanan Porat, chairman of the National Religious Party (NRP) Knesset faction, by Eytan Almog—live]

[Text] [Almog] I understand your party already has reached a decision.

[Porat] Indeed we have, but first allow me to voice my misgivings about your introductory statements likening the religious parties to courted maidens.

[Almog] Then do not vote for me. What was the decision reached by the NRP?

[Porat] We conducted a responsible and coolheaded debate and reached clear-cut decisions.

[Almog] Courted maidens do that, too.

[Porat] The first resolution states that our Knesset faction expresses regret and sorrow over the disbandment of the national unity government, particularly in view of the great challenges on the country's agenda, the main one being the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. For some reason this subject has been neglected in all this hullabaloo.

We are also sorry that Zvulun Hammer's efforts to prevent the disbandment of the government in one way or another failed.

[Almog] Will you join the no-confidence motion?

[Porat] Here I come to the chief resolution, and I am reading them to you: Therefore, being part of the government, the NRP will vote against the no-confidence motions to be raised in the Knesset this week.

[Almog] In other words, you are placing your confidence in the government.

[Porat] Indeed. We also decided this resolution will be binding on all faction members, so the odd dissenter might not change the situation.

[Almog] Is there such a danger?

[Porat] That is why we passed this resolution. As you heard, some colleagues asked permission to vote differently, but ultimately this resolution was accepted unanimously by the entire faction.

The third resolution, which is important as far as future developments are concerned, is: The NRP faction believes in view of the inability to maintain the unity government, the best thing is to call for early elections and make the people decide on the major political issues currently on the agenda.

To sum up, we are not looking for favors, either from the right or left. We want the matter to be decided through elections as soon as possible.

Rabin Prefers Alignment Government to Elections

TA1303160790 Tel Aviv Educational Television in Hebrew 1500 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Interview with Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin by Rafi Reshef in the studio—live

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Reshef] In the present situation, will you favor the establishment of a narrow-based government headed by Shim'on Peres?

[Rabin] In the present circumstances, I will favor anything that will help promote the peace process. The meaning of elections is that a caretaker government made up of the Likud and a few religious parties would take over. Such a government would operate without a finance minister, a defense minister, and a health minister for four to six months. It therefore would be better to have an alternative government, whatever it may be, which would be able to function—of course, we would prefer a government led by the Alignment's candidate, Shim'on Peres—rather than call for elections. This would do away with the peace process for four to six months and would leave the fate of the country in the hands of a government that lacks half its ministers. As for the other half, everyone knows who they are.

[Reshef] Do you think you will be able to set up such a government?

[Rabin] I cannot tell you anything for certain. Today's decision to disband the unity government was taken by the Likud and the prime minister. There is a difference between casting doubts on other people, however justified they may be, and taking action. The government was disbanded by the Likud and Mr. Shamir.

[Reshef] Mr. Rabin, I thank you very much.

French, FRG Diplomats Follow Up Hostage Contacts

PM0903145590 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 9 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Lebanese Sources Confirm: Contacts on Hostages Made Progress in Geneva"]

[Text] Beirut, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Lebanese sources have revealed that U.S.-Iranian contacts on the release of the hostages are continuing in Geneva and that French and West German diplomats are following up the negotiations. This news comes with the return to Beirut yesterday of Mahmud Hashemi-Rafsanjani, brother of the Iranian president.

The sources have told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the contacts have made some progress, making it possible to expect results soon. What, in their view, makes these contacts different from past contacts is a number of developments related to "influential parties" which resulted in the reopening of the hostages file out of a desire to find a final solution to this problem.

They believe that it is unlikely that the hostages will be released all at once, for many reasons, including the fact that Tehran and the kidnappers are calling for the fulfillment of certain conditions, but they confirmed that completion of the deal would clearly mean release of all the hostages.

The sources further said that, in return for using its influence with the people holding the hostages, Tehran has made the following demands in Geneva:

1. In return for the release of the hostages, the name of Iran would be crossed off the list of states practicing and supporting terrorism.

2. That the United States and the European states should seek to persuade Iraq to withdraw from the Iranian territory where it happens to be present.

3. That Washington should release the frozen Iranian assets. That would be followed by a process of normalization of Iranian-European [as published] relations and the Iranian revolutionary guards would withdraw from Lebanon.

Sources in Beirut's Southern Suburb have stated that Damascus is acquainted with the developments relating to the hostages case and that it has encouraged Tehran to settle this matter. They consider the Syrian role to be an auxiliary one, but the decision to release the hostages depends on Tehran in the first place.

They said that a Hizballah faction loyal to former Iranian Interior Minister 'Ali Akbar Mohtashemi is trying to dictate non-negotiable conditions but Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's instructions have been frank, calling for a serious consideration of the problem which he said he believed "was on its way to being solved."

The Iranian president's brother Mahmud Hashemi-Rafsanjani and former Iranian Ambassador Ahmed Dastmaljian arrived in Beirut yesterday for contacts with the people holding the hostages.

Observers believe that the "hardline" faction of Hizballah escalated the security situation with the Amal Movement, as a result of which two people were killed and others were wounded, in an attempt to start large-scale clashes to delay a decision on the hostages.

It should be recalled that Washington received with satisfaction Hashemi-Rafsanjani's statements on the hostages problem but it emphasized that it has no intention of holding secret negotiations or concluding a deal with concessions in return for the release of the hostages.

RJO Claims U.S. Military Operation 'Imminent'

NC1203113990 Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 8 Mar 90 pp 1, 8

["Handwritten" statement by the Revolutionary Justice Organization received by AL-NAHAR on 7 March, accompanied by a black and white photo of U.S. hostage Joseph Cicippio]

[Text] In the name of the Almighty. After a comprehensive study of the oral and written statements and answers concerning the hostages' issue and affairs and developments in the region, the Revolutionary Justice Organization [RJO] declares the following:

1. Amid the long American night the region is experiencing, the American snares caught everybody, directions got mixed up, guns were not aimed in the right direction, and the rules on classifying friends and enemies differed among the sons of the same ranks. Painful blows were dealt to our central causes, strugglers and martyrs fell shamefully, and disgrace was everywhere. Meanwhile, America was behind, above, and even within everybody.

Amid all this and contrary to everyone's will, the RJO continues to stick to its positions and to direct all its energy and efforts toward America and its allies, only toward America and its allies. It advises everybody and guides them that this is the only sound course to follow by those carrying out martyrdom and suicidal and special operations, and that they must wake up and think of what they are doing.

In this atmosphere, the United States is presenting the hostages issue from a humanitarian angle. However, by monitoring U.S. movements here and there, by planting elements in U.S. regional stations, and by following some spies, we have obtained accurate information that a U.S. military operation in areas where the Americans believe there are hostages is imminent. We warn everybody to heed this danger, to be alert, and to watch out for what America is planning to do.

We regret some of our domestic friends' irresponsible statements, which could have resulted from a lack of understanding about the nature of the U.S. movement. We ask these friends to devote their humanitarian endeavors toward other issues that could be more fruitful and positive.

2. The RJO is holding spies and by human standards, they should receive a just punishment instead of a reward. We warn America about what it calls the difficult choice, because we are waiting. Today we are stronger, more prepared, more determined, and in a better position to strike at the strategic interests and deal painful blows, and Washington knows better than anybody else that our strength today is not the same as yesterday.

3. We are committed to continue rubbing America's nose under our feet, and there is no inclination to release hostages. So let nobody demand a solution to the hostage issue unless it is within the positive and balanced frameworks, for which we have offered many suitable outlets guaranteeing everybody's rights, several times.

Victory for the unjust in the march of liberation and justice, and glory and immortality for the noble martyrs.

[Signed] The Revolutionary Justice Organization

Fadlallah Optimistic Over Hostages' Release

NC1203131590 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1145 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] 'Allamah Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah said today that the secret game behind the fighting in Lebanon aims to keep the security situation unstable so the smoke from Lebanon might cover any developments in the region's crisis or in some local political issues. In a press statement, Fadlallah said those who created the crises in Lebanon to maintain sedition in the country at the expense of the Lebanese and the people in the region do not want Lebanon to escape the impasse.

Fadlallah said a positive atmosphere exists for releasing foreign hostages from Lebanon. He called for their release and for releasing all Lebanese and Palestinians detained by Israel.

[Paris AFP in English at 1231 on 12 March adds: "He told the Arabic-language AL-ANWAR newspaper in an interview published here Monday that he had already issued an appeal for an early hostage release 'to all those who can help activate this affair.'"]

'Awn To Remain in Country in 'Top Office'

NC1203131290 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 1230 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Michel 'Awn's information office today issued a statement saying that 'Awn will remain in the country's top office until a solution satisfactory to the Lebanese people is found. The statement says that neither 'Awn nor any member of his family is going to leave Lebanon for any foreign capital.

Denies Plan To Leave

NC1303075390 Beirut Voice of National Resistance in Arabic 0530 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] General Michel 'Awn has said that he has given the mediation committee a deadline to reach a settlement between him and Lebanese Forces Commander Samir Ja'ja', but he refused to specify the date. 'Awn told REUTER that the deadline might have already expired, it might expire in 24 hours, or in might be 24 days. However, now is not the right time to state the deadline, he said.

'Awn added that the committee promised to announce if it felt that it could no longer deal with the situation. 'Awn maintained that President Ilyas al-Hirawi's government's response to his proposal for a dialogue without pre-conditions was the response of a group which is unable to hold a dialogue. Had it been able, he said, it would have responded positively.

'Awn described President al-Hirawi as neither an adversary nor a foe, saying that the problem is not between them. The problem, he said, is a plot being implemented in Lebanon since 1975. He denied that he is thinking of leaving the B'abda Palace, that he had sent his family to France, or asked for political asylum in a foreign country.

Meanwhile, in a press interview published today, 'Awn maintained that he has no hostile intentions against anyone and does not want to use violence. However, when I am disregarded, as I have been, I am compelled to respond with violence.

He said that the political authority being established is a stage toward a comprehensive solution. The purpose of such an authority is to conduct negotiations with all the Lebanese and non-Lebanese parties.

'Awn noted that he wants good relations with Syria, but within a formula which says that Lebanon must not be ruled from Damascus or ruled from Beirut against Damascus. 'Awn declared that the grave mistake of the al-Ta'if meeting was that it left out those his government represents.

'Awn Said Willing To Discuss Syrian Interests

NC0903155290 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1445 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpts] In an interview with AL-NAHAR today, General 'Awn expressed willingness to discuss an amendment to the al-Ta'if agreement. He said he believes that beginning a dialogue does not necessarily mean that those accepting a dialogue consider the al-Ta'if agreement abrogated. [passage omitted]

Gen. 'Awn expressed willingness to conduct a dialogue with the Syrian brothers, as he put it, on the premise of Lebanese sovereignty. He explained: We do not seek trouble; we seek solutions and liberty. We understand that Syria has interests in Lebanon, and we must reach an understanding on these interests. However, to avoid ambiguous interpretations, we mean those interests that have international criteria and are acceptable according to international concepts.

On the Army's condition after the battle in view of numerous reports that the Army had dwindled in manpower, Gen. 'Awn said: The battle which we fought was among the most arduous that an Army can fight because it was fought on all fronts. [passage omitted]

Gen. 'Awn was finally asked if the Army had miscalculated the Lebanese Forces' strength in the battle. He answered: No, we knew in advance that any internal clash would lead to self-destruction. We had this equation in mind all the time.

Comments on Fighting, Dialogue

NC0903140590 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain in Arabic to Lebanon 1230 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Michel 'Awn, commander of the military clique, has bowed before the suffering which his forces have undergone as a result of the so-called liberation war and his and Ja'ja's war against the eastern area and its residents. Apparently, he has abandoned many of his previous stands. In an interview published by AL-NAHAR, he announced that dialogue is the only solution. He said he believes that it is not necessary to abolish the al-Ta'if agreement to begin a dialogue because this agreement is one fact among others. He explained that the solution can be the al-Ta'if agreement plus a comma, or something completely different from al-Ta'if.

In an attempt to have himself accepted as a negotiator, he said he is willing to sit at a roundtable to discuss the al-Ta'if agreement without preconditions.

In response to a question, 'Awn said that in his view the war is a prelude to a solution. He declared: At least I am dealing with it from this perspective. However, if malicious intentions appear and seek to complement other policies, then I will be outside this framework.

He continued: I am ready for a dialogue. Let the other person declare his readiness for a dialogue. I can meet with him. When two people meet, they can call on the others to join.

On whether he believes that the fighting might resume in the eastern area, 'Awn replied: Certainly not.

He also ruled out with certainty the possibility of renewed fighting between the eastern and western areas and declared: At least not as far as I am concerned.

He added that at least the experience encourages dialogue instead of fighting. He said: I think this war is a scorched-earth war and a war of a people who have become hostages. Nevertheless he added: I still possess a sufficient deterrent force to keep the war from being resumed. Moreover, the existing spiritual, political, and moral forces are strong enough to deter any resumption of the fighting.

On whether he believes that the Greater Beirut dream still exists, he answered: This will occur within a comprehensive solution. You will see what will happen on the ground. We are currently handling all the issues quietly and without sensationalism. We have decided, with regard to the eastern area and the entire homeland, that no one will be vanquished or victorious except the Lebanese people.

'Awn Soldiers Reportedly Join Gen. Lahhud

NC1003193690 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Citing military sources, REUTER reports that approximately 1,300 soldiers of 'Awn's forces have joined the legitimate army under the command of Army Commander General Lahhud. The sources add that one colonel and two lieutenant colonels joined Gen. Lahhud's command this week. It has been learned that the colonel is Suhayl Khuri, chief of staff of the 10th Brigade, and one of the lieutenant colonels is William Najlah.

'Awn Force Blows Up Defecting Officers' Homes

NC1203180790 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Security sources revealed today that an armed group loyal to rebel officer Michel 'Awn blew up the house of Colonel William Mujalli in al-Dikwanah and used red wax to seal the house of Colonel Suhayl Khuri, chief of staff of the 10th Airborne Brigade, in al-Hazimiyah two days ago. The group also put up a notice at the entrance to the latter's house banning people from entering the house. This is because these two officers have joined the legitimate army command in Beirut.

The armed group also detained citizen Jean Khatir because he is a friend of one of these officers.

'Awn Army Units Fire at Residential Areas

NC1203211090 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 2015 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] The pro-General 'Awn Army units continue to direct bursts of gunfire at residential areas. They fired three artillery rounds and an RPG-7 projectile at residential areas in al-Barjawi at 2015 today.

Meanwhile, the mediation committee met with Lebanese Forces Commander Dr. Samir Ja'ja' this afternoon and with Gen. Michel 'Awn at B'abda Palace this evening.

Dr. Ja'ja' received Abbot Basil al-Hashim tonight. They discussed the current developments in East Beirut. Abbot al-Hashim said: Both Dr. Ja'ja' and Gen. 'Awn have responded fully to current efforts. They are convinced of the need to reach an understanding and unify all the political efforts, forces, and key figures in eastern areas so that we can restore prosperity and unity to Lebanon, and to the eastern area in particular, and alleviate human suffering.

Meanwhile, REUTER reported that Gen. 'Awn has given a deadline to the mediation committee to work out a solution between the Lebanese Forces and himself. However, 'Awn refused to specify this deadline. According to REUTER, 'Awn said that the deadline might have already expired, or it might expire in 24 hours time or in 24 days time. But it is not the right time to say when this deadline expires, he stated.

Lebanese Forces 'Committed' to Cease-Fire

NC0903163290 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1515 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The security truce was violated today. At 1145, Army units opened fire from 12.7-mm machine guns and fired an RPG at people passing along the Galerie-al-Ittihad crossing point, wounding a citizen and a member of the Lebanese Forces. At 1530, two Lebanese Forces' members, Khalid Sanaja and Bassam Ibrahim, were martyred when army units in the Salome area fired on them. The Army prevented the Red Cross from treating these members, and they died of their wounds.

At 1645, Army units opened fire from 12.7-mm machine guns and fired an RPG at the Lebanese Forces positions in the Mirna-al- Shaluhi building. At 1700, the Lebanese Forces' positions and the residential areas in the vicinity of the al-Sayyidah Church in Sinn al-Fil came under sniper fire.

The Lebanese Forces remain committed to the cease-fire. The security committee and the competent authorities are studying the unexpected cease-fire violation.

Amal Reportedly Rejects Hizballah Peace Initiative

NC0903154090 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1415 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Fighting between the Amal Movement and Hizballah, which began in al-Awza'i [in the Southern Suburb] earlier today, has abated. Traffic on the al-Awza'i road is moving cautiously now. Amal sources attributed the clashes to a Hizballah gunfire attack on Ahmad Zaki Tuffahah's vehicle. At the same time, clashes between Amal and Hizballah gunmen in Iqlim al-Tuffah, which erupted in the middle of the day, have also abated. According to reports, one citizen was killed and seven others were wounded during the fighting on the Kafr Hatta, Jarju, Humin, and Sarba fronts.

An Amal source has rejected Hizballah's initiative to end the fighting between the two sides. The source described the initiative as an attempt to circumvent the Iqlim al-Tuffah residents' wish to return to their villages and to prevent the legitimate Lebanese Government from deploying its forces in the area. The source added that the initiative did not mention people who have been displaced from the Southern Suburb and al-Biqa'. He also demanded that Hizballah personnel should return to the Tyre and al-Nabatiyah areas.

Hizballah Reproaches Amal

NC1003160090 (Clandestine) Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic to Lebanon 0630 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] A responsible Hizballah source has asserted that the party's initiative to resolve the Iqlim al-Tuffah crisis has shown that the Amal Movement has been shedding mere crocodile tears for the Iqlim al-Tuffah inhabitants. The source said that the Amal Movement pretends to forget that the only obstacle to their return to their villages is Amal's insistence on continuing to shell and fire on them in order to displace them.

The Hizballah source was commenting on Amal's rejection of the initiative put forward by Hizballah two days ago. The source said: In fact, everyone knows what the Amal Movement wants. Briefly, it is against the return of Iqlim al-Tuffah inhabitants to their villages. If this is not the case, the Amal Movement should prove it, now that these villagers know that their return to their homes is being obstructed only by Amal's insistence on displacing them. Thus Amal has opposed the return of the homeless of the south to their villages in Tyre, al-Nabatiyah, al-Zahrani, and elsewhere.

The Hizballah source added: To be quite clear, Amal seeks to eliminate all other parties, whether peacefully or by war. In Hizballah, we are totally against this idea. Through our initiative, we sought to alleviate the predicament of our kinfolk and facilitate their return to their homes. Amal, however, attempted to circumvent this by fabricating reports about people evicted from Western al-Biqa' and the Southern Suburb. No one has been evicted from these two areas. However, some Amal personnel may have left them voluntarily to join in the fighting against the Islamic resistance in Iqlim al-Tuffah. Apart from these men, all Amal elements have returned to their villages in Western al-Biqa' according to the agreement between the two sides that was sponsored by the Syrian brothers. The same thing applies to the situation in the Southern Suburb. The situation as regards our kinfolk who were evicted from the Tyre, al-Nabatiyah, and al-Zahrani villages, and whose homes and businesses were destroyed, remains unchanged.

The source went on: For humanitarian reasons, we draw the attention of all parties concerned to the cause of these displaced persons, as well as to the issue of our kinfolk in Iqlim al-Tuffah. Approximately 3,000 families evicted from the Tyre, al-Nabatiyah, and al-Zahrani villages have no one to see that justice is done in their case. Furthermore, there are thousands of political exiles

opposed to Amal's policy and to its disgraceful oppressive practices which have spared no religious scholar or religious sanctities.

The Hizballah source concluded: We reiterate our call to Iqlim al-Tuffah inhabitants to return to their villages and to realize that it is the Amal Movement that is preventing their return. The Amal Movement must stop its arrogant behavior and begin the full, comprehensive, and immediate implementation of the Damascus accord, unselectively and not according to the developments or its own political mood.

Israeli Air Raid Targets Palestinian Base

NC0903144490 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The NNA [NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY] correspondent in the north has reported that the Israeli air raid on a Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command [PFLP-GC] base has resulted in two citizens being martyred and two others being wounded in Tall al-Hayyat near Halba. Two people were also killed and six others wounded in al-Muhammarah. All of them were from the Ibrahim family. Those who were killed include Jacqueline and Jacqueline [as heard] Ibrahim, and those wounded are Jirjis, Mayiz, Yulla, Zaynah, Fatin, and John Ibrahim. The wounded have been taken to the al-Rasi Hospital in Halba for treatment. 'Abdu Tawfiq was also wounded near al-Qulay'at.

The Israeli enemy air raid took place when the PFLP-GC was celebrating International Woman's Day in Nahr al-Barid camp.

Israeli Tank Destroyed; Resistance Kills Crew

NC0903164690 Beirut Voice of National Resistance in Arabic 1530 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The Islamic Resistance has announced that one of its groups detonated an explosive device under an Israeli Merkava tank on the road between Hill 910 and al-Ahmadiyah in western al-Biqa' at 1300 today. The tank was destroyed, and its seven occupants were killed.

Enemy artillery shelled western al-Biqa' townships, particularly 'Ayn al-Tinah and Birkat Jabbur. The Islamic Resistance artillery returned the fire.

Al-Huss Comments on Al-Hirawi's Arab Tour

NC0903113190 Beirut Voice of National Resistance in Arabic 1030 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Chamber of Deputies Speaker Husayn al-Husayni today met with Prime Minister Dr Salim al-Huss and discussed the current situation and the president's tour of the member states of the Arab tripartite committee.

Speaking after the meeting, Prime Minister al-Huss said: During our tour of the tripartite committee member states, we first jointly assessed the developments since the adoption of the national accord document and discussed with the Arab brothers what the tripartite committee can do at this stage, particularly in the reunification of the country in every sense of the word and the elimination of the partitionist phenomenon which is threatening Lebanon's unity and existence.

Second, we discussed the possibility of calling an Arab summit. We acquainted ourselves with the views of the Arab brothers on this issue. We concluded that we should continue to pursue the matter so that when it becomes certain that there is an interest in calling such a summit soon, we can take this step in light of the existing situation in Lebanon and the Arab world.

Third, we discussed the assistance required in Lebanon's reconstruction. The tour accorded us a good opportunity to discuss all these issues. The Arab brothers assured us of their total support for the legitimate Lebanese Government in all spheres and their commitment to continue along the road with us until the end. There was emphasis on the need to assist Lebanon in the field of reconstruction and development.

Foreign Minister Returns From Tunis 12 Mar

JN1203211590 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1915 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] This evening Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' returned to Damascus after heading Syria's delegation to the 93d session of the Arab League Council in Tunis.

French Prospectors Discover New Oil Wells

JN1203143390 Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 6 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] Paris (SANA)—The French oil company, Societe Nationale Elf Aquitaine, announced here yesterday that it has discovered the first oil well in Syria in the Dayr al-Zawr region.

AGENCE-FRANCE PRESSE cited a statement by the company saying that the total production of the 'Atallah oil well discovered by the company in Dayr al-Zawr is estimated at 8,000 barrels per day of light oil of very good quality with a 36 degree rating, according to the U.S. Oil Institute.

The company clarified that the discovered well is the second well dug by the company Elf Aquitaine, Syria, which forms a branch of the Elf company.

The company said that it will dig a new well in the coming days to determine the size of the discovery while prospecting continues in two other wells, Khayr and al-Sajir.

The company acquired a license from the Syrian Government and the Syrian Oil Company to prospect for oil in the region where the discovery was made in 1988. Another French oil company, Total-Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, announced last January the discovery of an oil well in the northwest of Syria whose total production reaches 6,800 barrels per day of manufactured oil rated at 15 and 20 degrees, according to the U.S. Oil Institute ratings.

AL-BA'TH States Arab Unity 'Integral'

JN1303072490 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0545 GMT 13 Mar 90

[From the press review]

[Text] In its editorial comment under the headline "The Continuing Struggle Until Triumph," AL-BA'TH says: The idea of uniting Arab ranks to confront aggression has always been integral in the life of the Arabs and one of the most important necessities. This idea, especially recently, has been exposed to many conspiracies, betrayals, and concentrated justifications that have not convinced any of the Arabs nor managed to eliminate their determination and awareness of the meaning of Israeli presence and arrogance on Arab territory for over 50 years.

AL-BA'TH adds: We can now say—with the current state of Arab affairs—that we in Syria have always seen the Zionist danger as a danger to all Arabs and a threat to their destiny regardless of their geographical or political positions. If this danger is not enough incentive for unity and solidarity, then there is no incentive which could realize liberation and unity for the Arabs.

AL-BA'TH concludes: We affirm that all is not yet lost to the Arabs and that their generations are inheriting the spirit of resistence and confrontation. This makes us always affirm, at the most difficult of times and in the same confident manner and which President al-Asad stated in his speech marking the 8 March Revolution anniversary, that this is our age and the jihad is ours. We too should affirm that our struggle to retrieve our rights will continue until we attain our goals and that we will use all forms of resistence to defend our land and destiny until the day of promised victory.

Papers Support Al-Asad's Call for Arab Action

JN1203084690 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0545 GMT 12 Mar 90

[From the press review]

[Excerpts] Under the headline "When Will We Move From Recommendations to Action?" AL-BA'TH begins its editorial marveling at the way the United States and Israel are escalating the challenge, confident in the knowledge that the Arabs talk, but do not act. AL-BA'TH says: Hence comes the importance of struggler President Hafiz al-Asad's call for Arabs to rise above all their differences and be aware of the danger threatening them as a result of the large-scale Jewish immigration. The Jewish immigration places time in the service of the Zionist hopes. At the same time, it creates economic difficulties for Israel, which will lead to one thing; namely, wars and invasions. This is the natural outcome of the Jewish immigration to the occupied Arab territory due to the Zionist Israeli intransigence. Hence came leader al-Asad's call in which he said it is not a case of defending state borders because if this were so, we in Arab Syria are the most capable of defending our national soil; however, it is a case of safeguarding the nation and homeland. And this requires us to move from tackling matters through making recommendations to real action and interaction.

The observer can see that the Zionist game smacks of war and aggression and the one who notices how the United States deals with the Zionist leadership fully realizes that Washington is pampering Israel and will not oppose its strategy and expansionist objectives.

AL-BA'TH affirms that we, the Arab nation, are today in dire need of understanding our enemy well, particularly since our own situation is clear. Our territories are occupied and the many catastrophes will not unite us; our ranks are fragmented and our pains and hopes will not close these ranks.

Concluding, AL-BA'TH says: If depending on others achieves hope, the Arabs would have achieved a great deal as the majority of the world would be with them. Therefore, we should rely on ourselves and have our own hopes; we should deal with peoples and nations in light of their support for our causes; and we should deal with each other by shouldering our responsibilities, particularly since the Zionist enemy has continued to implement its expansionist strategy, not responding to any international resolution that contradicts with its claimed biblical dreams. [passage omitted]

Under the headline "The Unstable Situation," TISHRIN writes about the so-called political differences between the two wings of the enemy entity, the Likud and Labor. There are times when we do not hear such stories and there are times when we hear that the coalition government could be dissolved. The differences between the two parties revolve only around method and formula. Both parties agree, however, on one strategy. This strategy is based on terrorism and repression to achieve hegemony, expansion as well as their alleged biblical dreams, at the expense of Arab land and people.

Paper Calls Baker Testimony 'Service' to Israel

JN0903110890 Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic
4 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed "news analysis"]

[Text] The only important and basic point in U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's testimony before the U.S. Congress is that Baker reiterated the firm and unchanging strategy of U.S. relations with the Zionist entity, and emphasized the need to support and promote these ties. This is demonstrated by the fact that the United States announced that it would give the Zionist entity an unconditional, free loan to settle Soviet Jews and would also supply it with sophisticated military equipment from the U.S. arsenal.

These are the salient results of the artificial hullabaloo over Baker's remarks between Washington and Tel Aviv. And although Baker's remarks are a service to the Zionist entity, the latter has always exploited as best it could any U.S. lapse both in politics and in other areas.

While it is true that Baker's conditions to grant the Zionist entity a loan to settle Soviet Jews provoked the chagrin of the enemy leaders, a statement by the U.S. State Department spokeswoman on the Shamir "initiative" reiterated the depth and commonality of the U.S.-Israel political and military approach. Margaret Tutwiler said that "Yitzhaq Shamir's peace initiative" for the region continues to be the focal point of American diplomatic activities in the peace process.

Perhaps such a statement could reveal the extent of the strength of these relations, which make Washington view the peace process from the terrorist Shamir's perspective, something that many Arabs try to forget or tolerate. What is important in the current U.S. approach is not the realization of peace. The important thing has always been to use the story of peace to channel the greatest amount of aid possible to the Zionist entity. This can be discerned by noting that the talk about "peace in the Middle East" is always coupled with extending military, economic, and financial assistance to the Zionist entity.

The Zionist entity's current hard-line attitude toward the proposed Baker plan to promote the "peace process" in the region is accompanied by the arrival in the Zionist entity of hundreds of Soviet immigrants, who will be, and in fact are being, settled in the occupied Arab territories despite the wishes of Washington and Moscow. Having imposed military censorship on news about the immigrants, the Zionist entity will try to impose its desires on everyone and settle these immigrants in the occupied territories. Indeed, the Zionist entity is perfectly certain that it will ultimately enjoy U.S. support and assistance to settle them there. The enemy radio correspondent in Washington said that U.S. Secretary of State Baker told the Congress' committee members that the Bush administration is prepared to approve legislation pledging guarantees to absorb the newcomers. Baker also affirmed his county's support for continued Soviet Jewish emigration and call for an agreement on direct flights between Moscow and the Zionist Ben-Gurion airport.

Therefore, Shamir's statement to a group of these settlers that "great immigration requires a Greater Israel" is now being put into action. The signs of these waves of immigration have now appeared with full agreement between the East and the West and in harmony with accelerated Ameican efforts to realize the proposed peace, which is, to be more exact, Israel's peace.

Afghanistan

Najibullah Addresses Paktia Elders 11 Mar

LD1103235990 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 1630 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Speech by President Najibullah to the elders, leaders, and representatives of tribes from Paktia Province on 11 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Dear elders, leaders: Peace be upon you. First of all, I have the honor of having been brought up in your home and I learned from your honor, dignity, and modesty. The proud, clean, Afghan Islamic blood is running through my veins.

I would like to start off with the fact that your current anxiety and worry about what happened in our house show. Tanay is from Paktia. He is Tanay. I have told my friends, I have instructed them that from now on you should only call him Shahnawaz and do not mention Tanay. [applause] Because, if he is not ashamed, I am ashamed and you are ashamed on his behalf. God forbid, think of it this way: If I go to Pakistan tomorrow... [changes thought] not Pakistani leaders, not Pakistani generals, not its ministers, but I heard yesterday that the director of Pakistani border intelligence has sat Shahnawaz before him, talks with him, investigates him, gives him orders. What if I had gone to such a department, to such an ordinary man in Pakistan? And which Pakistan? The Pakistan which has not been and is not the enemy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA]? The PDPA did not even exist when the Pakistanis were resorting to hostility against you. They were enemies of the Afghans. Did I, not as a party member, but as an Afghan, put myself at the feet of the Pakistanis? Would you have said that I was your son, your child? Are you my Tanay or my Ahmadzai? Don't spoil this sacred name over them. Don't tarnish the name of Kharoti with Golbuddin. The name of Sayyaf also belongs to Kharoti; don't spoil the name of Kharoti on him. If a boil is found on your body—it is still a part of your body—you try to cure it with a variety of means; if it is not cured, then you try surgery; and if it is still not cured, then you cut your hand off. Some people will say that this is not a good thing; your body will be harmed. No, I have taken out a germ, I got rid of the illness, I got rid of a nasty boil which appeared on your body. I have not—believe me—gotten rid of it.

I am now coming to it and I am going to tell you all what has happened. I cannot promise you that my conversations will be brief today, because I would like to give you details today. I am taking this opportunity, once again, to talk with the people of Afghanistan, to talk with the opposition, to take advantage of this opportunity. I want to talk to Tanay who is sitting there. I hope he shows honor and dignity, when he hears what I am going to tell him: A man dies, however, he should find a bullet and blow out his brains with it. [applause]

I promised you that I would call him Shahnawaz, but I addressed him as Tanay, because it was with the word of honor and dignity and I addressed him again Tanay, so if he hears this, it will bring up in him his sense of honor and dignity; he will become a Tanay, become a Pashtun, become an Afghan.

Would you allow me to leave you tomorrow and go to the Pakistanis? Would you allow me? Would you call me an Afghan? Would call me your son? Would you tell me that I was your son? [shouts from the floor: no! no!] Then why are you worried? Why then are you saying that an event has happened in our homes? Why should you be embarrased? You said yourselves that no one has gone out of this palace. It was the palace dwellers. I am sitting with you on these woolen carpets; you also know my two rooms in Melon [Najibullah's birthplace]. [applause] It is because of this that I (?came out) alive. I am not a palace dweller. He bombarded the palace, but he did not bombard Najib; he cannot bombard Najib. He had the bombers, he had the bombs; but I had God on my side. [applause] I had the people on my side; I drank the milk of my own mother; I learned honor and dignity in the embrace of my parents; and I accepted your counsel and instructions. It was due to this that I am alive. And, if God Almighty desires—I have said many times, I have told the whole world, no matter who comes here that when peace is maintained here, at that moment I will be ready to leave power. I am not for power; but I can tell you that Almighty God will protect me to the end. I should also tell you that God Almighty has promised that God is with those who are patient.

Let me tell you about patience. Before this, I would like to tell you that you and the whole world are worried about hostility between the Khalqi and Parchamis. He is a Khalqi and I am a Parchami; I punished the Parchamis at the head of all. But I would like to tell you that it is not the Khalqis, the Khalqis have stood by me. I am proud of their honor, their courage, and their intentions; they have stood by. I am telling you this because my voice might possibly be heard by all party comrades and the Khalqis in the capital and the provinces. They were not Khalqis. When the Khalq and Parcham split, a group separated from the Khalqis, i.e. from Taraki, who were called the Zarghonists. They were not in the party during the struggle which was going on between the Khalq and Parcham. When they united, they were still not in the party, because Taraki did not allow them. When the revolution came too, they were not in the party. I am exposing this in front of you and the Afghan nation that it has also been me who has done this; Amin got angry with me and said to get rid of me because he said as long as I was there, there would be difficulties. I was sent to Iran as ambassador. I was a member of the Central Committee; I was a secretary to the city committee and Kabul province. Ziray telephoned me and told me that he wanted to tell me something. I sat with him and he told me: you are going and a number of comrades are going to be left outside party organizations; I ask you—you are going anyway—to bring them into the organization. With my own hands I brought them to this party

and entered them into the organization. They heard what I said; I am not telling you a lie.

Khalqis are those who are sitting in the trenches and sacrificing themselves; they shed their blood. There are those who are burning in the fire, but he warms himself by the fire. Is this called Khalqi? This is a shame for the Khalqis. They were not Khalqis, the Khalqis were protecting their trenches, they stood by me. My defense and interior ministers now are Khalqis. There are three armed forces: the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Interior—two principal forces—and the Ministry of State Security. I have offered two principal forces to the Khalqis. Yesterday, you too were with them. Thus no matter how much the enemy would like to abuse these matters, you must be assured that the truth is like the shining sun and cannot be hidden with two fingers.

Now, I will come to the matter of patience. It was 30 August 1989; we captured a Golbuddin network. What was it that the network wanted? I will tell you. When the network was captured, we arrested their leader in Kabul. We found organizational documents on them. We found out that they were active in three areas: in the Army, in a guerrilla network, and in one cultural group responsible to work with 'ulema and intellectuals. I talked to the authorities; I told comrade Yaqubi when I saw these organisations and when I saw these names—Wali Shah's name was on the top; there were the names of other generals too. It may be an enemy conspiracy and intrigues intending to weaken our army. He said this was true, but I told him that it was not enough. After the investigation during the day, bring the material to me at night for me to read, such as everyone's written statements. I asked the prosecutor and the general prosecutor to go and supervise the investigation to ensure that no one was coerced. Let justice be done. We captured a major Golbuddin network, but we did not forget justice. God himself is a witness to this. It may be due to these acts and our hearts which saved me, as you see, from the bombardment. I was thinking of justice about the captured Golbuddin network. I work until 2200 or 2300 in my office and then until 0400, reading these investigations, so that I don't make a mistake. I told them to seize first of all the guerrilla network, because they engage in subversive activities.

They wanted to cause explosions. I have captured them. They all confessed they were members of that party. They confessed they planted bombs near the Indian Embassy, in Pol-e Technic, where the high jirgah of 'ulema was held, which you know about, and in Microrayan, the worst explosion. They have confessed to all this.

What now? They said they joined the plan this time because if an action take place on that particular day they would cause explosions in various parts of the city. We asked them, where were your materials? They said our material is there and our material is here. We will show them to you. You can see that every night, every day on television we show these explosive to you. These are proof. What do you want? Who were killed by these explosions? Innocent people, children, women, elderly people. Those killed are engaged in their daily work. How could anyone have mercy on people who cause explosions in a shop, a city, a village, or a school? And then you are telling me that you are a very nice and good person, you should have mercy on them. If you tell me such, then does Almighty God, who is merciful and kind, have a hell or not?

We are only worshippers of God. We are weak people. Does Almighty God who is kind, generous, and merciful have a hell or not? Does He not send people to hell? Even if all the prophets and Muhammad, may peace be upon him, appeal to Him. But, his hell is not empty. What is due to God, God will forgive, but how could one forgive what is due to a God creation. Those people who caused explosions killed what kind of people? They killed poor people, elderly people, and children. How could someone have mercy on them? They have mothers, sisters, fathers, and children. Without doubt God will protect their children, if they go in the right direction. But, what about those people who are killed and martyred? Don't they have mothers, sisters, fathers? Don't they have young children? No one cries for them. It is here that I am not afraid of anything. When you told me during that Loya Jirgah and put heavy responsibility on my shoulder, I accepted. The fact is, I tell you the truth that I have extended invitations to Muhammad Zahir Shah now and then to come. He is not coming; he does not want to. Under such circumstances a brave child would not be patient. The responsibility that you placed on my shoulder, I accept with honor and go forward. I don't say anything else. I have told you that if my life is needed by the people, I will sacrifice it. Leave alone the chair.

You have seen that I was sitting quietly in my office on the chair. I was talking to the jirgah from Baghlan, and then it ended. then, the people of Salang, elders and representatives came and I held a jirgah with them. When the last jirgah ended, I came to my office. Then, it all started. I tell you the truth that I am very scared. My fear lies in this: When Almighty God has given me the justice in my hands, how should I handle it? I fear that tomorrow in the other world they will ask if I handled the balance of justice correctly. Then I will testify to Almighty God on resurrection day about the jirgahs of Paktia people and of all Afghanistan. Someone may ask me there, how the father of that orphan died. I announced the other day that 25 persons were martyred and 150 were wounded, but, now the number of martyred people has reached 95. Why, because they were under the rubble. I might be asked, Najib, did you not have any mercy on that person who was buried under the rubble?

Didn't you demand his right? He bombed those people who were holding a jirgah with us, he was bombarding me. He wanted power. I proposed to him to come and take my position. If he bombards me, that is OK. Why should he bomb the Pol-e Keshti Mosque? Prove to the

Wahhabis that he does not accept Pol-e Keshti, and destroys mosques. Why should he bomb Jad-e Maywand and Shar-e Now and the poor people? I went to the hospitals; I saw a person being taken into surgery. He appealed to me. I told him it is your right to appeal to me. He told me not to worry about him—he had bought a Karachy [mobile shop] for 80,000 afghanis and was selling items. He said: It has gone. What should I give to my children to eat? What should I give them? Was it their fault?

I told them [as heard] to give him three to four times more than he lost. I feared from this that justice should not be made wrongly by me. I should not give more punishment to one and less to other one. They are all heavy responsibilities; otherwise, in the battlefields and in fighting I have your blood in my body, leave it to me. I am young now. My body is healthy. [applause] They [as heard] have confessed. I seized the culture section. They too confessed. They revealed their plan. What was the plan?

I will tell you about the first coup d'etat by Golbuddin. Their plan was that they formed four [as heard] parties under the name of (?sacrifice). Golbuddin sent one to Lowgar, one to Maydan, one to Deh Sabz. The day they would resort to a coup d'etat, these divisions would attack from these regions against our units and forces. At the same time, explosions would take place in various regions in the center. The most dangerous thing was that there were a few air defense forces' batteries in Khayrabad, Qargha Tapa-e Maranjan, and Sharara. They were attacked to the cities with missiles. All those people cooperating with these units would take action and the coup would succeed.

We were forced to seize all those people in the batteries in these mountains. They too confessed. When investigations were made, confessions were also made about the generals. Despite a resolution by the Revolutionary Council—not a resolution of mine but of that time—the State Information Agency [khadamat-e atalat dawlat-e] or state security has the right to seize a person who is a traitor or carries out antistate or counterrevolutionary activities.

I said: Yaqubi, go and sit with Tanay, and tell him what is going on and what we should do. He went and met him. Here they were still discussing cases up to the level of colonels. They were not yet discussing generals. He seemed happy. He invited Yaqubi to lunch. Yaqubi returned happy, and said that Tanay cooperated very well. I told Yaqubi to continue the cases. After 10 days, when investigations continued and reached the level of generals, I telephoned him and said: Comrade Tanay—here I refer to him as comrade Tanay, not Shahnawaz. The Tanay [tribe] is my existence, the Tanay are my friend, and I am their son. Here I want to tell you that the Tanay sent their jirgah from Paktia. I told Tanay: Comrade Tanay, I send Yaqubi to you. This is the moment that you should make a resolute and courageous decision, and assure me of it. He said, do not worry, and sent Yaqubi back. I sent Yaqubi back to him. After an hour, the telephone rang. Yaqubi told me that when I mentioned the names of a number of generals to Tanay, he did not say anything, but when I mentioned the name of Wali Shah, he said I do not accept these allegations agains Wali Shah. I said if he does not accept, should we not arrest them?

Yaqubi said he did not want to make a decision. He did not say no, either. Tanay said that I [Najibullah] should decide. I said I will decide, and I decided to arrest all of the generals. We arrested them, with his agreement. The next day he came to the headquarters. Every day we met at military headquarters. It was war. He sat with us. We discussed our daily tasks. At the end, when we were leaving, I let the others go, and told comrade Tanay to sit for a while. I told him I was expecting him to call me yesterday, when I sent Yaqubi, the minister of state security, to you, to ask for your decision. You should have phoned me to say: Look, Comrade Najib, I stood with you in the battles when you told me to go to Khowst. I went their under the barrage of rockets. What is this, now that a person has committed treason? You should have said that you would hand him to me before you try him, that I should kill him, as a Pashtun would do, that he was my comrade, and why he had done what he did. It is a different story when ordinary people surrender to their enemies, but he was my comrade, he was my general, I put my trust in him. How could he commit treason? I was expecting this from you.

Another story in this coup d'etat was that Halim Jan, who is head of communications in the Ministry of Defense, would attempt to kill Tanay. He had orders from Golbuddin to kill Tanay. The irony is that all this also concerned his life, not just that the homeland. How can I show mercy to someone who is also your murderer? He kept telling me that party members do not plot coup d'etats. I smiled to him. [Name indistinct] is present here. So far, whatever has happened, has it not been done by party members? When Amin stood against Taraki, was he not a party member? He said party members do not plot coup d'etats. When Tanay stood against me, was he not a party member? Was he, or was he not? You are quiet, you do not say anything. Probably you are right, because he might not have been a party member, he (?belonged) to somewhere else. Anyway, I spoke to him, he became convinced, he had no objections. However, when he left this place he said that it was a conspiracy against me and the Khalq; he came here, then he went to the Defense Ministry and gathered guards for himself, like Michel 'Awn in Lebanon. He saw the same here. I phoned him. He did not answer. I sent a messenger. He did not receive [word indistinct]. I wanted to send your jirgah to him, but he would not agree. Finally, [words indistinct] was an adviser to him. I told him to judge between us. Besides, he was my defense minister. I was his superior. He rose against me. I am [PDPA] general secretary. The Grand Assembly has given me a vote of confidence. I am even older than he.

Golbuddin now turned to the Soviets to say that he did not have power to over throw Najibullah, to request the Soviets, to tell Najibullah to give up his post. Yet even yesterday Golbuddin was accusing us of bringing the Soviets inside the country. Now he goes to them and asks them to tell Najibullah to vacant his post.

Tanay too went to the Soviets to ask them to judge between him and me. He did not accept talks, jirgahs, and so on. Fine. We sat. He wanted reconciliation. What is reconciliation? He asked for the release of three or four generals; three generals. I accepted. I released four generals. I added one. The next day I released those generals. I told them they are traitors and do not work. He said he knew this. If he had held a meeting the next day and mentioned that these people were traitors, and committed such a crime, we would have sent them to prison. He would request from the president a pardon for them in order to protect his honor and to givwe morale and spirit to the army. The issue was closed.

I heard the next day that it was not like this. A commander of a tank regiment in a division had been replaced because he did not obey him. He placed his man in this post. Why did he do this? I asked Tanay what was going on? He replied that they were normal reshuffles. I asked him how many changes he had made. He said around 3,000. I asked him if he were authorized by someone to do so. He said no. I told him that there is now a sensitive situtation. Everybody is talking. Keep quiet for a few days and then we wil make these changes together.

Then something came to my mind. He might be planning to control the tank units, the Air Force, and other units. I tell you that I would have done something. I could have issued a decree on a state of emergency and war. No one can make appointments without my agreement, no appointment higher than a lieutenant or a captain. I could have done this. But I did not. I am older than him and I am his so-called leader. I told him I had reduced this authority. What would happen? He would go to the people and to the jirgahs, and tell them he was not guilty. I am defense minister, what is my authority and credibility? He [Najibullah] does not allow me to appoint anyone under the rank of colonel, which is in the regulation. Is this the way Najibullah shows his trust in me?

I should tell you that in the last few days and nights, when he was making preparations and maneuvers, and practicing, friends came to me and said, Najib, whoever takes action first will win. Take action first and you will win. I replied that if I take action first, the next day, the people of Afghanistan will say that it was Najib who made him Tanay flee to Pakistan, even though he is now in Pakistan. Najib attacked him. Najib, what were you short of? You had a kingdom, you had this and that, you were president and secretary general. Why did you take action against the minister of defense? I did not do anything. He took action first. Did he win? I was hopeful. I follow a righteous path and Almighty God is with us. I said to our military comrades that a military system is like a [word indistinct] the best offense is a strong defense. You prepare yourself for a strong defense then this will be an offense. He has become pigheaded. From the limit of commando—the so-called rank of first lieutenant—he reached the officer rank and then made lieutenant general. I must say this to you. He may have said that the Ministry of Defense was not given to him as a gift by anyone. No one gave him the position of membership in the Politburo and Secretariat. It was because of his ability. Then he should have had that potential before coming to power.

Why did he reach the position of minister of defense? Why did he reach the position of commander of the general staff? Why did he become a general? Why was he admitted to the Politburo? I did all these. I gave him the power. I gave him this power as a Pashtun not because of Tanay. I did not know Tanay. All these powers I have he is now using against me. I would not carry out such action first. I would not be the first.

He came to me. He became pigheaded. He may have said that I am not a military man; this Najib that you see is a physician. He says a few words to journalists, talks politics and so on, and keeps the position of supreme commander. How can he then (?defeat me)? What did life show us? He regarded himself as better than all officers. However he was not a good officer. There are many better officers than him. Good officers and generals always come to me and say [words indistinct].

Why did I choose him as minister of defense? Is it because he is from Paktia? No. What has life shown us? An ordinary physician, a civilian, the person sitting in front of you [applause] this humble and poor slave of God became in charge of the situation within 24 hours against the most major military uprising.

This was not an uprising like the one during the time of Zahir Shah or Da'ud. You yourself have seen it. It was the most major military action with the support of the air forces. In the Philippines, were Aquino came to power by election, a coup d'etat was unleashed against her. All the air force came from the United States and they were used for her benefit. But she did not stabilize the situation for 20 days. [applause] I say this to you because Almighty God does not make a person pigheaded. The dish of arrogance breaks.

Obviously, you have me the right of self-defense. If you capture a bird and hold it under a cover, will this bird not bite its captor? With this character you have given me I have made this defense. I mention these words. Obviously events take place an go away. But I had taken action first, you would have blamed me and now I could not have spoken with you with pride. Since he Tanay took the action he showed himself contemptible to me, to you, and to the world. [Word indistinct] my book is open. Tell me what reasons you want? Please go and see the streets in the cities. There are holes about 20 meters

deep. All those innocent people who were buried under the rubble—what reasons do they want from me?

Finally, this event took place. Last Friday I asked him to come to my home. Watanjar was present. I told him my last words. I had spoken to him many time before. I say this because if he hears me and if he has any pride and honor, he will kill himself. But if that is not the case, then remember that all countries, starting from the United States to Britain and from Britain to Pakistan and the Saudi Wahhabis, they all engage in fighting and Tanay is joining them. Shahnawaz Tanay, they cannot push us out of the way.

I stood up for him, as I called on him to come. He was coming to a Pashtun home then. I should have stood for him. I cooked him ashak. I cooked ashak for him. I was sitting there with Watanjar and spoke with him and asked him: What are you doing? Which path to you follow? My comrade Tanay, which road do you follow? O comrade Tanay, which path do you follow? First of all, in such a situation no one will remain alive. And if you succeed, then for how many days will you be able to keep power? Because if you are doing it for yourself then no words remain. Then peace for what any why reconciliation? Because of this we ask other forces and say that we will give up a monopoly on power. Positions, whether they are 20, two, three, four, or half, should be shared with others too. You will be alone when a group of people leave you, all this party. You may form a military council, perhaps you will form this. How can you keep this and if you can not, then where will you go? Will you go to Golbuddin?

If you go to Golbuddin, he will keep you a few days, as he keeps you for a few days now. Then he, I swear, will first take out his sword against you and shave that moustache of yours and then without hesitation will slit your throat. Because there is a famous saying—please forgive me, I tell you this story as this meeting is a Pashtun jirgah:

There was a woman. She was pregnant and could not deliver the baby. There were difficulties. All the old women gathered and they were thinking about what to do. One of them said: Let us put a blanket on her. There was no blanket so they went to another room. Another old woman said: There are trousers lying on the floor which belong to her husband. Bring them and put them on her so that she becomes warm. The pregnant woman shouted: Please do not bring them; because of them I became like this. [loud laughter] [applause]

Now you say to me that Golbuddin became that way because of me or because of Tanay. [sentence as heard] Now he has gone there and you will see what Golbuddin will do to him.

He replied to me: I am a rational general. I would never do anything against you. I then asked him whether he wanted my position. I asked him seriously, under the circumstances, and said I would then convene the Politburo and a plenary session. I would announce there that I am no longer the general secretary. This other comrade will take over. I am tired of work, this is true. You take over.

He said to me: Never, never. Please do not say such a thing. We cannot find a leader like you. You have potential, energy, strength, and ability. I see these qualities every day in you. I said, then what do you want? He replied: The job you have already given me is burdensome. I said, then why do you do such deeds? Why do you do such [word indistinct]? Tell me? He said: I am a reasonable general. I am a good man. If I take action against you, first of all, physically I will be eliminated. Even if that did not happen I would be defamed in history. I now take a position in history as the second 'Amin. I will be defamed in politics.

When I heard these words I thought that they were all correct statements. Tanay is a good man. Perhaps I myself, Najib, made a mistake. This happened only last Friday. I am telling the truth. Watanjar is a witness, he heard too. My wife was unwell but she prepared ashak. She was still ill when bombs were dropped on her because she cooked ashak for him.

He bombarded me because I cooked ashak for him on Friday! [shouts from the floor, saying "He was disgraced because he dishonored your salt"] Yes he was disgraced because of that salt. What you say is exactly true. I told him this too. I told my wife as well as my three children to be prepared to be bombarded. He told me: God forbid, how could I engage in such a sin. I told him I had prepared them. If you ask Najib, I am not afraid of death. Take this out of your mind. However, what do you want? I said: Let us ask a jirgah from Paktia. I told him the responsibility of all Afghanistan has been put on your shoulders today. Look how the Uzbeks serve; the Hazaras are not fighting against me, Baluchis are on our side, the Turkmen are on our side, the Nurestanis are on our side. What has happened to you? It will bring you disgrace. He said, however, I am not going to do this, rest assured. Do you want my place? No, for sure. This was his assurance. I was sitting with some people in a jirgah and he bombed me.

The bombardment should not have made you think that the whole Air Force was with him. Only five pilots, traitors. All these pilots were arrested in Bagram. The Air Force in Balkh moved to crush them. The Air Force in Shindand was in your service. Those in Bagram too, who were coerced and who took off under the bayonets, bombarded the coup plotters, and then landed in Kabul or in Balkh. The Kabul Air Force was under your service. The bombs which rained here [on the city], rained on the poor. We too, as he said that he was an Afghan, a tribal, told him that I was too a Pashtun. Go to Bagram. I have not left intact even a brick of him. It is a matter of regret.

Those patriots, those airmen—I was confident in this. I have not worked with anyone and I do not know this, I am not a Parchami or Khalqi, I am a human being of God, I am your servant, because we operate to serve the

people's interests. We know this policy has been successful. The pilot who has gone and crushed a Pakistani in Jalalabad and protected the homeland, the honor, the grace, and has lightened history—how could he forget his blood? I was confident of this, I was sure. It was those who became very arrogant and thus forgot this fact. It was that sort of pilot who crushed him, has come here, and gone again.

I will give you an example: One of our pilots' aircraft was shot down in Jalalabad and he ejected as a result, breaking his back. On that evening—normally one pilot can fly three times per day—he had carried out flights until the morning. It was nine or ten flights, I do not know. This was just an example. There was not even a single shot fired in all the provinces. Here the units, except individuals and elements—if they had come into the city, they would have embarked upon such unimaginable looting and plundering. We blocked their way so no one could come into the city. No one took up measures. Inside the units themselves, some rose up and whoever they knew was a traitor, got rid of them by themselves. If they did not want to go, they were killed. I was told by telephone, from one division, then from another; from one unit and then from another; one has been removed, I took up the command. What do you want me to do. It was a blessing from God.

However, it was the end of him. It was a misfortune, it was a bad thing, there is no doubt. However, I would like to assure you that I have received letters from a great number of commanders during these three or four days, from commanders inside the country telling me that until yesterday they were thinking that we were subject to attack from abroad. You have resisted against that. Now, when we know that some among us and others inside have come up against you, and you have not been overcome, and that God is with you, we are coming to you.

I send you good tidings. The unpure blood has been eliminated from the veins in our body. The germ has been eliminated, your body will become healtier. The Afghan peoples love for you has further increased. The understanding of all commanders with you has increased further. Peace will come closer very soon. In those Western countries where their policy has not been changing so far, was it, they said, that this state was unstable? There are differences between them. When they see now that stability has returned here, I assure you that, soon, very soon, these Western countries will change their policies and officially recognize you. [applause]

But once again I would like to tell you that this success will not make me arrogant and you should not be either. What we have been pursuing—the people of Afghanistan are thirsty for peace and security—we have proved that no one can win from us by force. I have read to you scores of times the holy Koran through jirgahs and meetings. Almighty God says: I honor people and I disgrace people. God is capable of doing everything. No one can take away anything by force unless God wills it. So let us do what the almighty says: Those who serve human beings are closest to me. What service? If they want power, if they want the presidency, whatever they want, if they want to share power with us, if they want to have elections—let us further deepen this policy.

The policy I announced yesterday—I am not going to become egotistical—I want to deepen the policy further. This is the truth, what I am saying to you, and I should say in conclusion that it was this policy of national reconciliation against which the opposition rose. What have I done? What sin have I committed? You tell me. What was the policy? I told them there should not be one party in power, the others should also come. Is this a bad thing? [crowd responds "No"]

I say to the party not to protect yourselve with tanks, guns and force. Go to the people, earn the trust of the people, go to the people and get votes. If you are afraid that someone is a tyrant, corrupt, or this and that, let the people get rid off him. Is this bad? When I tell him that the Afghans you have made flee abroad because of your gun and rifle—it is possible that those Afghans love the country more than you and I. Why do you tell them that they are sell-outs? Invite them and tell them to come here and prove themselves by reconstructing the country and working hard. If you gather all the Afghans around you is that a bad thing? When the enemy wants to break the Afghans into pieces, and I am telling them national reconciliation, and there is a big obstacle in the way of national reconciliation—that was the presence of Soviets and I told them goodbye—so there is no pretext, so that we Afghans can embrace each other. We will bring national unity, national accord. Was that a bad thing? [applause] Is this a bad thing when I say that the Afghans should stand on their own feet? they should not count on the power of others. They should show their own honor and courage.

The Soviets telephoned me asking what assistance I needed. I do not want to hide anything from you. I am not hiding anything from the Afghan nation. It is a good thing that I have chosen and that I tell the people boldly... I told them on the telephone: Thank you very much. Be please ready. Pakistan may want to attack. It is possible other enemies here and there will attack us. I will ask you then for help. However, if you come now, no matter if I have won, they will say: No. sir. the Soviets came and obtained it for him. [laughter, applause] Then they said: Good for you. Our political interests are also involved in this. If you stand against it. then ok. And I told them I rely on God. When you withdrew I also stood up, and now you are not here and I will again standup.

In the course of history—from Alexander the Great to the English- -when my fathers and forefathers struggled here, were the Soviets with them? Was another country with them? Who has won? You, your courage and honor. And when I say that the Afghans can stand on their own feet, is this a bad policy? It was this policy that they rose against.

They said about me: He is abandoning the party. He is going to the Ekhuanis [Muslim Brotherhood]. He is asking Zahir Shah to come back—the one against whom we brought revolution and so many were killed. He sold the revolution, he sold our ideology, he sold this and that. It is me who is blamed for all this. But I got up and went to the most dangerous one of all, Golbuddin. He is dangerous. You fellow, you blamed me until yesterday that I wanted to go to Golbuddin: Yes I said that I wanted to sit with Golbuddin, I wanted to sit in Mecca, I wanted to sit in Baytullah-e Sharif [the house of God in Arabia], but this was my open policy and not a secret.

Now you [Tanay] went there. What had I done? Why were you so angry with me? I told you if you want the power, let us, I give it to you legally. We will have a congress or plenum. We have a party. I will announce it. We will invite a Loya Jirgah. I have stated to you in the parliament that I want to invite the Loya Jirgah, I want to bring a series of changes in the state structure and in everything. I will announce my resignation there. No sir. We will not let you, we cannot find a person like you. So if you cannot find someone what was the reason for your (?anger)? What money, place, power: what else did you want? You are a Politburo member; you are a lieutenant general; you are a Central Committee member. You are the minister of defense. You are working as my assistant in the military headquarters. What do you want? I am telling you that I will leave my place also to you. But you said you did not want it.

So what is the need for a bombardment? The bombardment was for him to display his good service there. So when he goes there and says brother, not only the palace, I have destroyed Afghanistan's city. Here, I have come to you. He bombarded the Indian Embassy. Ask him why? Because there is a dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. He is crushing this so he can say: Sir, I have crushed the Indian Embassy for you. Look what a good Muslim I am. I have crushed the Hindu for you! [applause]

Let that alone. Khayrbakhs Muri, his name, is a Baluch. You know him, he is here in Afghanistan. Pakistan has told him to bombard his house [words indistinct]. Pakistan has told him to bombard his house. In front of his house is the house of Khan 'Abdul Ghafar Khan, only three meters away from Muri's house. No matter, this house or that house, we kept Khan 'Abdul Ghafar Khan's house locked so as to respect his soul. He has hit this house. No one can really realize if there was any damage or not. He wanted to do this so as to tell them: See how I struck Khayrbakhs Muri, who is against you. Accepting the orders of the ISI [Pakistani intelligence service] to crush all its enemies in Afghanistan and then come. He did not believe in victory from the beginning. I was sitting quitely engaged in jirgahs. He ordered his family to be transferred to Bagram. Why did he take his family to Bagram? To flee, there is nothing else. If he was winning then why was he taking his family away? He had thrown out his party membership card, a party which brought him up, made him a leader, made him a Politburo member, a party which made every one of us. I was an individual, but it brought me to this limit. He said goodbye and threw his card away.

He has left behind the military belt of a lieutenant general, throwing it away, but he has taken away state and military secrets, organizations, and books to give it to the ISI. And he tells them: I am ready, as an ordinary commander now, to capture Khowst for you. He asks Golbuddin to entrust him with the job. He knows our secrets, shortcomings and other things, unfortunately. When one comes to this limit, to selling out ones homeland, do you tell him it is still our home's matter? This general came to me. Pacha Gul was in prison. He told me to release him. Should I, I asked him? Yes, he said. Was it not like that, general? I released him.

The next day others came, the same Gulabzoy came and told me to appoint him as a minister. I asked Hassan Sharq to appoint him as a minister. He is sitting there now. Do you call him your son? I said let the PDPA alone. The PDPA is 25 years old, but Pakistan was created 42 years ago, before the Pakistanis were hostile to the Afghans. How would you allow yourself, as an Afghan, to go there and throw yourself at the feet of Punjabis? The whole of Islam has been taken to them from here. Our fathers and forefathers have made them Muslims. Study history. Ahmad Shah Baba went there nine times and captured them every time. Throwing yourself at their feet would you still call yourself our son? [words indistinct]

Let my Tanis tribe be alive. May God keep alive the whole of Afghanistan and may God keep you all alive [applause] so that brave sons are born to you to protect this homeland. If on the one hand, God forbid, he has brought shame to you, he should not be your son, on this side. Your head has been held high so as to bring you honor and pride in history to the end. [applause]

Recent Actions Against 'Extremists' Reported

LD1203182590 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 1530 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Units and companies of the Armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan stationed in the Khowst major district are carrying out their national and patriotic duties with high morale and combat readiness and are inflicting shattering blows at the armed extremists, the Pakistani militarists and Saudi Wahhabis. The military section of the BIA reports that during the last three days joint enemy forces, utilizing heavy weapons, launched attacks on a number of security posts of Esmai'l Kheyl, Tanay, Gorboz, and some parts of Khowst city. In retaliation to this criminal action by the enemy, their fire and concentration positions were brought under artillery and air strikes as a result of which heavy loss of life was inflicted on the warmongers, and in the last three days, 256 of the warmongers, among whom were several ringleaders of the Golbuddin band, were ousted from the battle ranks. Six mortars, two recoilless guns, and seven

rocket launchers belonging to them were destroyed. Two members of the Armed Forces were martyred, 12 members of the forces along with 2 local people were wounded, and the morale of the joint enemy forces has plunged as a result of blows by the units of the Armed Forces.

The source adds that units and companies stationed in Nangarhar Province, as a whole, are engaged in strengthening and consolidating the previous defense positions and have high combat readiness. During the past three days, armed extremists, Pakistani militarists, and Saudi Wahhabis have launched sporadic attacks on a number of security posts of Jalalabad garrisons. In order to neutralize this action by the joint enemy forces, their firing positions and resistance places were subjected to artillery and aerial attacks, as a result of which 170 of the joint enemy forces were ousted from the battle ranks; two mortars, one rocket launcher, one truck carrying weapons and ammunitions, and one recoilless gun belonging to them have been destroyed. During the past three days, two members of the Armed Forces and seven local people were martyred as a result of heavy weapons attacks by Pakistani-linked extremists, and seven members of the Armed Forces and 14 local people were wounded. The report adds that the situation in general in other parts of the country is calm.

Government To Indemnify Coup Attempt Losses

LD1303092190 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0445 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Kabul, March 11, BAKHTAR—The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, RA, severely condemns the criminal plot of March 3, 1990 which was organised from outside and was staged by a handful of sold-out treacherous elements, linked to foreign enemies, in collusion with Golbuddin's traitorous band led by Shahnawaz, reads a resolution of the plenary session of the Council of Ministers which was held today in order to determine and indemnify the losses inflicted on private and state establishments from the recent conspiracy of the enemies of the people of Afghanistan.

The Council of Ministers in its resolution while regarding the plot as an anti-state and anti-people action pointed out that as a result of good management of the leadership of the armed forces of the RA headed by Najibullah, president of the Republic and supreme commander of the armed forces of the RA, and the timely and resolute counter-action of the detachments of armed forces based in Kabul and the serious cooperation of Kabul citizens the said conspiracy was crushed and thwarted at the soonest possible time, it adds.

Following the resolution of the Supreme Defence Council, an economic commission was set up under the chairmanship of Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers. The commission in its first session on March 4, 1990 primarily assessed the losses and destructions and assigned two separate commissions under the sponsorship of two deputy prime ministers to determine the losses and look for ways how to indemnify them.

The findings of the said commissions indicate that as a result of the treacherous plot 197 civilians in Kabul city were injured out of which 25 died at the hospitals and 70 others were found as a search from the ruins made by the devilish bombardments and in this way the total of the martyred civilians in the recent plot came to 95 persons and 125 injured persons were released after receiving proper treatment, the resolution remarks.

The resolution indicates that serious losses have been inflicted to the country's ancient and historical buildings like Darulaman Palace, Tajbaig Hill, presidential palace, Pol-e Kheshti mosque and some state buildings. Apart from the said buildings, the economic losses which were identified so far in civil aspects include the complete destruction of 230 shops, 4 serai inns, nine restaurants, 55 residential houses and 282 residential rooms. Hundreds of other houses and establishments have received partial damage and hundreds of thousands sheets of glasses of the houses, apartments, offices and other establishments were broken. Thus, the economic losses amounts to hundreds of millions of Afghanis, the resolution adds.

[Words indistinct] pointed out, says the resolution, that civilians in Kabul and other provinces expressed their profound hatred and indignation against the coup plotters testifying to the fact that the people are supporting the state's policy based on the continuation and deepening of the policy of national reconciliation and the political solution of the issues related to Afghanistan, the society's democratisation from social and political points of view and the strengthening of the country's armed forces.

Likewise, the socio-economic and cultural institutions, political parties, social organisations and figures including different categories of people in their separate messages seriously condemned and denounced the coup plotters for their criminal acts and meanwhile expressing their condolences and solidarity to the state of the RA.

In addition, some of the transigent opposition armed groups expressed their inclination for cooperation with the state of the RA and in opposition to the bellicose plotters and extremists.

In order to determine and indemnify the material losses which arose from the unsuccessful and criminal coup attempt, the Council of Ministers approved that the personnel who showed discipline and sense of responsibility should be appreciated. The Council of Ministers in its resolution has asked all the state organs to determine the losses incurred in their relative bodies and to report it in a week's time to the commission of the Council of Ministers. All the ministries and state administrations have been assigned specific duties to be performed by them in this connection. In turn, the commission of the Council of Ministers is also dutybound to present to the Council of Ministers their specific proposals in 10-days

time for rehabilitation and reconstruction and the said commission should also take urgent measures in attracting domestic and international assistance.

The Council of Ministers in its resolution call on all private and public organisations as well as individuals to render all sorts of their contribution to the victims of the ignominious plot.

Senate, House 'Strongly Condemned' Coup Attempt

LD1303100190 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0500 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Kabul, March 11, BAKHTAR—The sessions of the House of Representatives and Senate held today were presided over by Dr. Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi, speaker of the House of Representatives and Professor Shah 'Ali Akbar Shahrestani, Senate deputy speaker reported BAKHTAR parliamentary correspondents.

At the beginning, the speakers of the both houses talked about the duties of the members of the houses for their participation in the process of the realisation of the policy of national reconciliation and ending of war and fratricide.

Both houses in their sessions strongly condemned the unsuccessful coup of March 6, 1990 by their national traitors headed by Shahnawaz-Golbuddin and can be reckoned nothing but a great treason and a big crime to the Afghan people and Islam.

The members of the both houses of the National Assembly in one voice and one view expressed their all-out support to legal sovereignty of the Republic of Afghanistan [RA] led by Najibullah, president of the RA they also donated one day of their salary to the victims of the anti-national plot to be transferred to the relative account.

Then, the agenda of the sessions and the performance report of the executive boards during the intervals between the two sessions of the National Assembly were presented to the session and were unanimously ratified.

The National Assembly also approved the three-month work plan of the both houses.

Keshtmand Gives Briefings on Coup Attempt

Addresses Party Leaders

LD1203163490 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0439 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Kabul, March 10, BAKHTAR—Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the executive committee of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, [RA] while Farid Ahmad Mazdak Politburo member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA CC) was also present, met today at the headquarters of the Council of Ministers of the RA, with the leading bodies of various political parties and organizations of Afghanistan.

He during the meeting explained the disgraceful and defeated coup of Shahnawaz-Golbuddin, character and motivations of the coup and human losses and material damages emanated from this treacherous plot to our compatriots.

S.A. Keshhtmand thanked the support of these political parties and organizations of the country from the (?stand) of the PDPA in thwarting the Shahnawaz-Golbuddin plot.

Reciprocally, the leading bodies of the said parties and organizations of the country on behalf of their parties while condemning the treacherous conspiracy of Shahnawaz-Golbuddin, expresed their all-out readiness and solidarity with the PDPA and with the Armed Forces of the country under the leadership of President Najibullah.

Meets With Foreign Envoys

LD1203161190 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0512 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Kabul, March 11, (BAKHTAR)—Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the executive committee of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan (RA) while 'Abdul Baqi Samandari, deputy foreign minister of the RA was present, met with ambassadors and charge d'affaires of friendly countries such as the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, Vietnam, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Mongolia, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia here on March 10, 1990.

A BAKHTAR correspondent reported that during the meeting Keshtmand detailed them on the abortive coup d'etat of Shahnawaz Tanay-Golbuddin on March 6, 1990, thwarted by the Armed Forces of the country.

Keshtmand said that the main aim of the conspirators was to overthrow the people's sovereignty and establishing of a bloody and terroristic regime contrary to the interests of Afghanistan and Afghans in the RA.

As a result of this bloody chaos uncountable human and material losses were inflicted on residential houses, sacred places and establishments of public utility in the capital, he said.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers said to the foreign diplomats that the launching of the coup d'etat aroused wrath and indignation of the masses including reconcilible opposition in the country. They in their personal letters, resolutions and statements have severely condemned the Tanay-Golbuddin criminal act against the people.

Keshtmand assured the foreign diplomats that the RA state will continue policy of national reconciliation, peaceful solution of the Afghan problem and the process

of the democratization of the socio-political life of the Afghan in the future as well.

At the end of the meeting Keshtmand demanded friendly countries, through their diplomatic representations in the Afghan capital, to render assistance to the people, especially those families who have become victims of this barbaric action of the Afghani enemies.

Reciprocally, Edward Poradko, Polish ambassador on behalf of the friendly countries' diplomatic corps while expressing the deep sorrow and indignation of March 6 catastrophic event, 1990 in Kabul, causing large human and material losses, expressed his readiness on rendering assistance by the friendly countries to those affected during the abortive coup d'etat.

According to another report Keshtmand met in his office late on that day with Mohammad Hamed Ansari, ambassador of India to Kabul and talked with him about the Tanay-Golbuddin abortive coup launched under the Pakistani Inter-Service-Intelligence (ISI) and matters of mutual interest. Keshtmand expressed sorrow on the air attack on the Indian Embassy by pro-Tanay element, on March 6.

The Indian ambassador in his turn while expressing his government's gratitude to the Afghan side added that it is a matter of pleasure that at a time when favorable grounds for the solution of the Afghan problem has been paved the state of the RA thwarted a dangerous plot and paves ground for the restoration of a during able peace in the RA [sentence as received]. The Indian ambassador expressed readiness of his government to assist those affected as a result of the abortive coup d'etat as well.

Najibullah Talks With Indian Envoy 12 Mar

LD1203163390 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0433 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Kabul, March 10, BAKHTAR—Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan (RA) met with Mohammad Hamid Ansaria, the Indian ambassador to Kabul, in the morning in the Afghan capital.

During the meeting, the Indian ambassador submitted to President Najibullah, the message of W.P. Singh, the prime minister of India, in reply to the Afghan leader's message which had earlier been presented to W.P. Singh by 'Abdul Wakil, RA foreign affairs minister during his recent friendly and an official visit to India.

The message of the Indian prime minister says that I want to assure you and through you the people of Afghanistan that we Indians highly respect the traditional relations between the two countries and you as in the past can count on our support and understanding.

We, the message adds, are optimistic about the further strengthening of mutual cooperation in technical-economic and other fields between the RA and India.

We are deeply concerned about the continuation of bloodshed in Afghanistan. We sincerely hope that the peace and normalcy return to Afghanistan at soonest.

We fully support the provisions of the Geneva accords to be observed by all concerned sides and worry about the continuation of foreign intervention in Afghanistan.

The message adds that I am fully aware of your honest efforts or setting up of a broad-based political structure to represent all strata of the Afghan society. We, the people of India, believe that the Afghan issue can be solved only by the Afghans without any foreign intervention.

Najibullah Receives More Pledges of Support

'Solidarity Messages' Sent

LD1203160290 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0415 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Kabul, March 10, (BAKHTAR)—Addressed to Najibullah president of the Republic of Afghanistan [RA], the Lawyers Association of India has sent a message on the occasion of thwarting of the attempted coup of Shahnawaz-Golbuddin.

We are congratulating your victories over the conspirators, the message stresses. The future destiny of the people of Afghanistan will be secured and preserved at your hands. Because ensurance of rights and social justice are your policy line, none of the forces of the globe will play with the future destiny of Afghanistan, it adds.

The message of the Lawyers Association of India in the conclusion while expressing their solidarity with the people and state of the RA, wishes further successes for President Najibullah in the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation.

According to another report the Afghan students studying in various universities of the Soviet Union, Cuba and Democratic Republic of Germany by convening meetings condemned the treacherous plot of Shahnawaz-Golbuddin and send their solidarity messages addressed to President Najibullah.

Likewise, separate solidarity messages addressed to President Najibullah have been received on the occasion by Cresnayer, an Indian lawyer and former justice minister of India, and All-Indian Pashtoon Jirgah.

The messages while appreciating the (?thoroughness) and vigilance of the leadership of the RA in foiling the treacherous attempted coup have condemned all kind foreign interferences in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Wolasi Jirgah Gives Support

LD1203110190 Kabul BAKHTAR in Dari 1130 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Kabul, 11 Mar, BAKHTAR—The secretaries of the Wolasi Jerga has reported that the general session of Wolasi Jirgah, chaired by Dr Khalil Ahmad Abawi, chairman of the Wolasi Jirgah, was held today at 1000.

In his brief talk at today's session the chairman of the Wolasi Jirgah welcomed the arrival of the delegates in Kabul City and once again emphasized the duties of the members of Wolasi Jirgah regarding their participation in the process of national reconciliation and ending the war of fracticides as reflected in the speech by esteemed Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, when opening the fourth Melli Shura session.

The failed conspiracy of 6 March by the national traitors, led by Shahnawaz-Golbuddin, which resulted in the martyrdom and injury of dozens of our innocent compatriots and material losses of tens of millions afghanis to the economy of the people and state, was discussed with profound sorrow. It was pointed out that such an action and shameful conspiracy by anti-Afghans Shawnawaz-Golbuddin and their other accomplices is nothing but treachery and a formidable crime against the people, against Afghanistan, and against Islam, especially at this sensitive period of Afghanistan's history where our war-stricken compatriots and the world's public have attached enormous hope to the peace-seeking measures adopted by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan for the realization of the policy of national reconciliation and for the solution of the Afghan issue through understanding and reconciliation.

With one voice the members of the Wolasi Jirgah expressed their unreserved support for the legal sovereignty of the Republic of Afghanistan under the leadership of esteemed Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, and they demanded the immediate prosecution and punishment of the national traitors, conspirators, and criminals in accordance with the law and justice.

The members of the Wolasi Jirgah also decided to transfer one day of their wages to the special account number for helping the victims of this antinational conspiracy. They have also issued a message in this respect.

The session agenda was then read out by Sayd Mozafar-shah Mozafari, secretary of the Wolasi Jirgah, and then a report on the actions of the administrative delegation during the interim period of the Wolasi Jirgah was read out and unanimously approved.

At today's session of the Wolasi Jirgah, and in accordance with the agenda, the work plan for the coming three months and the contents of work for the coming two weeks, were approved in accordance with Article 36 of the Wolasi Jirgah.

Najibullah Sends Message on Women's Day

LD1003092690 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0415 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Kabul, March 8, BAKHTAR—Prior to all, I want to congratulate all the women, the Afghan mothers and all-Afghanistan Women's Nation-wide Council on the anniversary of world women day wishing you prosperity and welfare, says, a message released here today by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan on the occasion of women international solidarity day.

We are celebrating the day the content of which is forming peace and prosperity for all women under the conditions when the peace and tranquility of our mothers and sisters have been disrupted by a handful of sold-out elements betraying the country and acting against the policy of national reconciliation, the message says.

The celebration of world women day undoubtedly signifies the role of women's movement towards freedom, welfare and equality of women's right, the message notes.

The state of the Republic of Afghanistan which is considering the women as members of equal rights in the society does not spare any efforts in providing favourable conditions for education, health, improved work environment and the ever-increasing promotion of the social status of women and mothers of the country, points out the message.

The state of the Republic of Afghanistan is in the opinion of that the present difficult issues of our country can only be solved through negotiations and dialogue which are the demand of our time, the message (?remarks).

The indefatigable attempts for the termination of the imposed war, which has mostly affected the Afghan mothers and women, is a part and parcel of works and activities of the All-Afghanistan Women's Council the message stresses.

The Council as a prestigious social organisation of the country has to reflect the wrath and indignation of our people from war to the world organisations, and attract attention of the women international organisations to cessation of foreign interferences at the existence of the ringleaders of the armed extremist opposition and their international patrons in the internal affairs of our country which has caused the merciless massacring of our people.

The Council has to utilize all the possibilities at its disposal for preparing the ground for holding negotiations and talks at different levels and play its great role in ensurance of peace, well being and prosperity of the people and exert its endeavours more than ever for the improvement of the living and working conditions of the Afghan women, the message emphasizes.

India

Government Says Tamil Leader 'Not in India'

BK1203123390 Hong Kong AFP in English 1220 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] New Delhi, March 12 (AFP)—The government Monday [12 March] said a key Sri Lankan Tamil leader reported to have fled to India ahead of the Indian troop withdrawal was "not in India and we don't know his whereabouts."

Reports from Colombo had quoted Tamil sources as saying A. Varadaraja Perumal, chief minister of Sri Lanka's Tamil-majority northeast, had left his home in Trincomalee Sunday and boarded an Indian Air Force aircraft.

The Indian Government spokesman briefing journalists here Monday, however, declined to confirm or deny the report. He said that some 1,600 Tamils had been brought to India in the past week in consultation with Colombo, and were now lodged in eastern Orissa Province. The refugees, who cited fears for their lives at the hands of the dominant Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) once the Indian troops are out, included prominent office holders of Mr. Perumal's Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF).

Indian troops stationed in Sri Lanka since 1987 under a bilateral accord are scheduled to complete their withdrawal from the island nation March 31.

More Sri Lankan Refugees Arrive

BK1103155690 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Nearly 300 Sri Lanka's Tamil refugees, including the general secretary of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Fron, the EPRLF, Mr. K. Padmanabha, and two ministers of the northeast provincial government, arrived in Bhubaneswar today. They flew in from Trincomalee in an Indian Air Force plane and were taken to a transit camp in the city. Later, they were taken to camps set up in Malkangiri and Patkura areas of Koraput District.

Over 1,300 Tamil refugees have already been taken to these camps after they were brought to the Visakhapatnam port in two ships yesterday.

Spokesman Details Policy on Sri Lankan Refugees

BK1203160090 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] India has made it clear that it will not allow Indian soil to be used for any activities directed against Sri Lanka, regardless of which militant group is involved. This was stated by a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry in New Delhi today. Talking to newsmen, the spokesman said it will be India's endeavor to encourage all the refugees, who have come into India to return to their country, as the situation normalizes and the refugees feel secure.

The spokesman disclosed that about 1,600 Sri Lankan refugees have been brought from Trincomalee to India by sea and air on humanitarian consideration and in consultation with the Sri Lanka Government. The spokesman said that after consulting the concerned state governments and after taking into account the requirements of security and law and order, it was decided that these refugees should be temporarily lodged in Orissa. They are now in camps in Koraput. The spokesman expressed the hope that the Sri Lankan Government will take necessary steps to create conditions of safety and security, which alone will motivate the early return of all refugees in India to their homes in Sri Lanka.

When asked about the chief minister of northeast provincial council, Mr. Varadaraja Perumal, the spokesman said that he is not in India.

Railway Minister To Look After Kashmir Affairs

BK1303020690 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0035 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] The railway minister, Mr. George Fernandes, has been asked to look after Jammu and Kashmir affairs also. He will coordinate all actions of ministries and departments of the central government on matters relating to Jammu and Kashmir. A Rashtrapati Bhavan [president's house] communique issued last night in New Delhi said that this has been done on the advice of the prime minister.

A six-member advisory committee has been constituted to assist Mr. Fernandes in matters relating to Jammu and Kashmir. The advisory committee had an informal meeting for about two hours yesterday in New Delhi. The committee is expected to hold its first formal meeting today.

The members of the committee representing six political parties are: Mr. Surendra Mohan, National Front; Mr. Ghulam Rasool Kar, Congress-I; Mr. Kedarnath Sahni, BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]; Mr. Saifuddin Chaudhary, CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist]; Mr. M. Farooqi, CPI [Communist Party of India]; and Mr. P.L. Handu, National Conference.

Speaking after the advisory committee meeting, Mr. Fernandes said that his main task was to revive political activities in the valley, so that the political process is set in motion as soon as possible.

V.P. Singh on 'Special Status' of Jammu, Kashmir

BK1303092390 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] The prime minister has categorically stated that the government stands by Article 370 of the Constitution conferring a special status on Jammu and Kashmir. Making a brief intervention in a special discussion on the

Kashmir situation in the Lok Sabha today, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh said the situation in the state is a matter of serious concern. It calls for a common approach by all political parties to deal with it. The special discussion was taken up by the house by suspending the question hour on a demand by opposition members. The motion for suspending the question hour, moved by Professor Saifuddin Soz, National Conference, was adopted by the house.

Making a statement, the home minister, Mr. Mufti Muhammad Sayeed, reaffirmed the center's determination to restore the authority of the state administration. He said the earlier government in the state had no will to deal firmly with subversives. He also warned Pakistan against interference in India's internal affairs. The home minister said the government has concrete evidence about Pakistan's attempts to aid the subversive elements in Jammu and Kashmir.

The prime minister's observation about Article 370 came when opposition members wanted a clear statement from the government. Mr. L.K. Advani, BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], said that while the prime minister has taken the right stand on the article in consonance with the National Front support, the BJP stands by its manifesto which sought abrogation of the article. He pointed out that the present situation would not have arisen had the demand been accepted. Initiating the discussion, Mr. Vasant Sathe, Congress-I, criticized the functioning of the state government and alleged repression on the people. He called for bringing all nationalist, secular, and progressive forces in the state back to the mainstream.

At the outset, the discussion was marked by procedural wrangles and a walk out by Professor Saifuddin Soz; Mr. G.M. Banatwala, Muslim League; and some other opposition members.

The debate will continue.

'Intruders' From Pakistan Killed at Border

BK1203143990 Hong Kong AFP in English 1402 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] New Delhi, March 12 (AFP)—Eight persons were shot dead, a section of railway track damaged in a bomb blast and a government bus set on fire in continuing violence in Punjab Monday [12 March], the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (PTI) said quoting police.

The powerful bomb exploded near the Devi Dass Pura railway station on the Jullundur-Amritsar route damaging the railway track and normal traffic was affected. No casualties were reported in the incident.

Suspected Sikh militants fighting for a separate homeland set fire to a state government bus bound for the Sikh holy city of Amritsar after ordering its passengers to disembark unharmed.

In a second incident three Hindu passengers were taken from another bus in Ferozepore District, and their whereabouts and that of a fourth kidnap victim, the son of a brick kiln owner, were unknown, police said.

Six persons killed in different incidents blamed on the militants were identified as a Sikh couple in Ferozepore District, a Hindu railroad worker in Faridkot, an unidentified man in the miliant stronghold of Tarn Taran, a private Sikh bodygard and a shopkeeper.

Two unidentified intruders from Pakistan were gunned down by security forces on the Karan section of the Indo-Pakistan border, PTI said.

Iran

TEHRAN TIMES Editorial on Hostage Issue

NC1303080290 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 6 Mar 90 p 2

[Editorial: "Too Much Noise Will Not Help Hostage Release Hopes"]

[Text] What should have been done through silent diplomacy, the Western media is highlighting. The issue of the hostages is being aired by Western print and broadcast media giving prominence to stories which in many cases have no truth at all.

The TEHRAN TIMES in its Feb 22 issue speculated that the hostages in Lebanon should be freed this year and that 1990 may be the last year of their captivity.

This week an English daily, KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, linked the freedom of hostages to the resumption of diplomatic ties with the United States. Though the Iranian daily in its yesterday's issue maintained that it was a "personal view" there is still confusion as the Western media continues to flash its own interpretations.

We believe that the hostage issue is quite separate from the relations between Iran and the United States because Iran, it has been repeatedly said officially and unofficially, has no hand in the hostage taking at all.

At this hour Irano-U.S. relations are not under discussion and such a move is also not supported by the leader of the Islamic Republic and its top officials.

The hostage issue, however, should be solved without any preconditions and should not be related to the resumption of ties between Tehran and Washington.

In the meantime, we expect that certain Western countries who have influence among the captors of the Iranian hostages in Lebanon will do their best so that through all-out efforts all the captives may reach their homes.

In the meantime, contrary to the Western media story, Foreign Ministry official Mahmud Hashemi's visit to Syria has nothing to do with the freedom of the hostages.

What we said in our editorial last week was tantamount to an appeal to the groups in Lebanon to release the hostages irrespective of their nationalities and purely on humanitarian grounds.

We reiterate that Islam in no way allows or condones the idea that people should be taken or held hostage.

Our own assessment indicates that this thorny issue can be sorted out in the near future in a sincere spirit by sincere people, an attempt that is being made even right now as we go to the press.

We still hope that 1990 can and will be the last year of the captivity of these hostages. Of course we hope that certain Western countries will not create hurdles in this way. It can beyond doubt be said that certain Western countries in fact are not interested in the freedom of the hostages but rather that they are using these captives for their political ends.

Paper Claims Republic 'Exonerated' by Pohl Report

NC0803173490 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Mar 90 p 2

[Editorial: "Truth out in UN Human Rights Report"]

[Text] A U.N. Human Rights Commission report which many looked forward to, each for special reasons of their own, is at long last out. To those opponents of the Islamic Republic who expected it to be in the usual format of a condemnation, it came as quite a shock. But to those who know the honest truth regarding our Islamic country and who cannot be persuaded otherwise by all the false propaganda of the world, it is indeed a consolation. It proves that truth can still prevail.

The report of the Salvadoran lawyers Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, who headed the commission, caused what can be termed no less than a wave of shock in some, especially the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization (whose members are better known here in Iran for their apostasies as the Monafeqin, or hypocrites, because of the deviant nature of their activities in this country).

Galindo Pohl visited Iran late last month and presented his 76-page report to the U.N. in which he explicitly denied the "charges falsely made by the opposition."

The charges were made by the Monafeqin who earlier drummed up a worldwide campaign on the eve of the Galindo Pohl visit to Iran. They staged hunger strikes in the capitals of various countries to attract the attention of people who could easily be taken in by their strident propaganda and to persuade parliamentarians in particular who were not at all too aware of the facts as they really were.

Now these people who might have been so taken in should know better. The Monafeqin presented what they called 'victims' of torture in Iran before the press which avidly swallowed and splashed their fake stories in the media to prove that Iran does not abide by human rights standards.

Having failed, and now rebuffed after this report, the Monafeqin have gone further and trumped up charges against Galindo Pohl himself saying that there was a deal between Iran and the West to camouflage the report. He has vehemently denied the charges as baseless and has openly showed anger that he should have been thus maligned.

Facts are facts and no baseless allegations can stand the test and torchlight of truth. Like most canards these too will have to have their own natural death. The Monafeqin may have been able to deceive the world once, twice and more perhaps, but they cannot do so for all time. It is time they gave up.

Galindo Pohl's report should be enough to wash clean away all these false allegations made against the Islamic Republic of Iran. Truth has to have its day and here is an instance of that before the world.

One has to congratulate the Iranian officials who organized the U.N. visit to our country. In this there can be no doubt that the U.N. delegates on the Human Rights Commission have done rightly and justly what they set out to do and exonerated the Islamic Republic of all malignant charges.

Yazdi Condemns U.S., UK Positions at UN

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[Text] A consultative session of the judicial authorities was held today, chaired by the head of the judicial authority, Mr Yazdi. In the course of this session, Mr Yazdi referred to the report of the UN human rights envoy, Mr Galindo Pohl, released after his recent visit to Iran. Mr Yazdi said: This report was further proof of the Islamic Republic of Iran's [IRI] correct path of action, and it disgraced the hypocrites [Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization] and the arrogant and Zionist mass media. He added: when the news of IRI's agreement to a visit to Iran by Mr Galindo Pohl was released, all the counterrevolutionary groups welcomed it and the representatives of the hypocrites went to see him and placed false information at his disposal.

Mr Yazdi went on: The hypocrites even pretended that the visit was a sign of Iran's retreat and weakeness. But when Galindo Pohl released his report on his findings about the existing facts in Iran, all the years of false propaganda of the counterrevolutionary grouplets and the arrogant and Zionist mass media were wasted. This report, however, is only part of the truth on the existing freedom and legal and social security in Iran.

Mr Yazdi condemned the efforts made by the U.S. and British representatives at the United Nations to undermine the positive influence of Mr Galindo Pohl's report on international public opinion. He said: The remarks by the U.S. and British representatives showed that they are still mixing political issues with legal matters, and by ignoring the facts and realities in the world, are pursuing solely their own interests.

Continuing his remarks Mr. Yazdi referred to the joint stock companies and stressed that the legal issues in the country should not be confused with the political issues. He added: In the propaganda work of the newspapers, some of them, knowingly or unknowingly, sometimes try to link issues with propaganda matters. Unfortunately, this approach can seriously undermine the independence of the judicial system which is the most important organ for the implementation of justice in society. Mr Yazdi added in this connection that if a person or a company does something illegal, for instance if he resorts to fraud, the issue should be pursued and the rights of the people and complaintants must be recovered. They should receive punishment or pay a fine to suit their offense. Meanwhile, the press should be careful not to mix propaganda grudges with legal issues. If that were to happen, the country's judicial and social security would be undermined.

Continuing today's session of the judicial authorities, it was decided that the task of protecing the judges should be organized under the direct supervision of the head of the judicial power.

At the conclusion of the session, it was agreed that from this date all the regulations of the judicial system should be compiled and published by running and publishing an official newspaper of the judiciary and books published by some researchers and publishers in this field must be fully checked and authorized by the source appointed by the judicial power, so that all mistakes are prevented. [Video shows Yazdi and seven other mullahs around a table]

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Holds News Conference 7 Mar

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[News conference held by President Hashemi-Rafsanjani with unidentified correspondents in Tehran on 7 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, peace be upon the apostle of God and his scion. I thought the people deserve to hear a report from the official in charge of the country's executive affairs, that is, the president, on the affairs of their revolution and their country; and they should be aware of our present circumstances. I decided that I prefer to have the gentlemen, the correspondents, present when I am giving the report to the people. You gentlemen can ask questions if you feel there are some unclear points in my report. The gentlemen's questions after my speech will complete my explanations. Of course, it might be a better idea if we were to present reports to the people at shorter intervals; we might do so in the future. At the present, however,on the eve of the new year [21 March], six to seven months after the start of our work, we can submit a summary to the people.

My evaluation of the revolution's state and the achievements of the forces working for the revolution, during the past six to seven months since the life of the new government, is positive. The people will understand the reason for this evaluation through the figures and data I shall mention in the discussion. Let me explain some general points first. As a whole, the general situation of our Islamic revolution is satisfactory; and we think, praise be to God, it is going ahead in accordance with aspirations of the revolution and wishes of his holiness the imam of the ummah. Well, we have said this repeatedly, since the demise of his holiness the imam, that the futile hopes of the enemies of the revolution for their desired conditions after the demise of his holiness the imam have been dashed, thanks be to God; and the hopes of our nation are being realized instead. The stability of the revolution has reached a very desirable level both inside and outside the country. After the demise of his holiness the imam, the stability is in better shape. [sentence as heard] This is because some used to think that after the demise of the imam, conditions would become ripe to launch an attack on us. Their desired conditions did not materialize and our enemies became despondent. Well, thanks to their despondency, we can live a bit more comfortably now and can continue our path.

The recent occasion, when the UN special envoy came to investigate human rights in Iran, was a disappointment to the counterrevolutionaries and to our enemies. They had waged a propaganda battle for 10 years to the effect that human rights principles were abused in Iran. Whereas, when that gentleman [UN observer Galindo Pohl] came, bearing in mind that he had been influenced by the Westerners and the counterrevolutionaries, he was impressed with the good things here and in his report downgraded his own conclusion about the respect for human values in our country. He could have said more about these good points than he said in his report, but we understand that under the circumstances he had to give the sort of report that he did. Nevertheless, we saw that the same Western media, which used to praise him before his arrival in Iran because they thought he would provide them with feedback from here, reported his findings very briefly. This is because his report was not to their liking. It reached a point that when there was an argument between him and the counterrevolution, which accused him of collusion. At this point he realized what sort of beasts we have been dealing with. What he saw of the treatment of the minorities, the prison regime, and many other points convinced him that the counterrevolutionaries have been spreading lies. The publication of his documents clarified only a corner of the facts to the world. It showed to what degree the Islamic

Republic has been victimized by global propaganda. I mention this point to show you the world opinion of the revolution.

Inside the country, the best possible event after his holiness the imam's demise, in connection with Islam and the revolution, was the election of His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i as the leader. Truly God guided us, for nothing better could have happened. Neither election of a leadership council nor election of another individual would have been better. [passage omitted]

Our shortages, if any, have been material and economic shortages. Yes, in fact we did face such shortages after the revolution because of the boycott and economic sanctions and vindictive attitude of the world economic powers, and also because of the war and the fact that our society was a fledgling which naturally faces some economic problems. Nevertheless, in view of those conditions, we must admit, and the world also agrees, that we have. [sentence incomplete as heard] Recently, a group of experts from the World Bank came here to evaluate our economy. They expressed an opinion saying: One must confess that during the war Iran managed to stand economically independent on its own feet in the best possible manner. This is a fair judgment. You cannot see another country which has managed to keep our standards after even one or two years of war, whereas we fought helplessly alone for eight years in the midst of so many atrocities of global arrogance. Today the entire world knows Iran has an independent economy—although it has some weak points that our nation will endure in its devotion. We did not allow anything to undermine the foundations of our independence. Obviously, there were some shortages and certain problems that we must remedy after the war. When the new government began its work under my responsibility, in the state of neither war nor peace, one of the major tasks facing it was to make up for these shortages, repair the damage, and improve the people's standard of living.

We are not facing any shortages in the cultural field, domestic and foreign policy, issues of the revolution and its aspirations. We in the government are guarding and protecting the same gains to make sure they are not weakened; as far as possible we will strengthen them. However, it is not necessary to employ too much manpower in this field. What is going to be discussed today is the steps we have taken or should take to remove shortages. A small example I can give to our people in this report will explain several important points in the economic and cultural fields and manpower requirements.

We know that one of our basic objectives has been to maintain our independence. It is almost impossible to remain independent without economic independence. At present, we have achieved cultural and political independence, but in the economic field, we are dependent on foreign countries' ability to meet our people's demand for the suitable requirements of the era. For this purpose we must remove our present shortages of manpower. We do not have skilled and specialized manpower suitable for our program. Of course, a plan is required before anything else, something we did not have. For the first time a long-term plan was compiled.

The next requirement of a proper standard of living for the people is to have a desirable Gross Domestic Product [GDP]. In this respect, we have fallen back, because our country's GDP has not reached the desirable level due to past events. This is because production comes from the agricultural sector or industrial sector and some manual products and other things. All these have faced difficulty. Our industries have been dependent on foreign countries. The country lacked key industries, or has very few of them. Still there is a shortage of such industries. Some projects have started but are not completed yet. These projects require investment in order to reach the fruition stage.

The necessary infrastructure, the rail and road network, suitable ports, and a healthy receipt of foreign exchange, which can create a balance in the foreign trade and economy, are all in a weak state. I mean, there is not a sufficient level of these things.

Sufficient energy for industry and for production, necessary tools for agriculture, the control of waters, sufficient machinery do not exist in sufficient quantities. In our mines, despite rich deposits, we do not have sufficient capability to exploit the mines at a level desirable and sufficient for the needs of the country; and these should be improved. In the plan all these things have been foreseen, and we have also based our efforts for the past five or six months, since we started our work, on the same basis. Each ministry will be responsible for its own sector and each person for his own work. [passage omitted]

There was a need for an economic policy so that through fiscal measures and other aspects of economic issues a policy would be adopted so that correct use is made of the capabilities of the country. The Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Central Bank prepared that plan and, fortunately, this has been a successful plan. We have a number of tasks at hand, and we explain them to you and will provide you with facts and figures. Before getting down to facts and figures, one issue which we should pay attention to is that if these policies had not been adopted and if we had continued on the basis of our former course, what events would have taken place? Of course, let me emphasize that whatever I say about the new government is not different from the former government. There is no difference. I was also one of the officials in charge of the affairs of the country in the past and I always supported the policies of the former government and had them approved in the Majles. At that time, those policies were correct and very well informed. Today's conditions allowed us to introduce some changes, and these changes were brought about by my government. Perhaps if the former government was in

my place, that would also have chosen the same path, because the conditions are, to some extent, different. [passage omitted]

As for our income this year, in the year 1368 [year ending on 20 March 1990] it has increased 59 percent, compared with the forecast. In the year 1367 it was 10 percent lower than what had been forecast, but in the year 1368 it has increased by 59 percent. The oil revenue increased by 23 percent. Of course, all this was not due to the government. The Oil Ministry says it has built and repaired some of the damaged installations. We have also increased the export of oil. Also, as a result of some of our policies which were taken, the price of oil has also increased to some extent. So some of it is due to the international situation. Also non-oil income has increased by 77 percent. On the whole therefore, the increase has been 59 percent, while in the previous year, our oil income was 15 percent less than that forecast and non-oil income was 6 percent less than the budget forecast. Altogether there was a reduction of 10 percent.

As for our expenditure this year, in our current budget we have spent one percent less than was forecast in the budget [as heard]. It means we have made a saving. However, in our development budget which involves investment we have spent 49 percent more than what was forecast. This shows a completely healthy trend in the course of our economy. If we had overspent our current expenditure and cut back our development budget, this would have been exactly the same as was done in previous years, due to unfavorable conditions. In the previous year, in the year 1367, we overspent our budget by 13 percent, while in our development plan 4 percent [as heard].

Now look at our budget deficit this year as compared with the previous year. In the previous year we had a 2,100 billion- rial budget deficit. This was a frightful figure. It means that it was more than all our income. It means that our budget deficit was more than all our income, nearly. This year, with the policies that we adopted from the middle of the second and that increased our income, we reduced this deficit to 1,129 billion rials. This is nearly half the figure of last year's deficit.

As for our cash flow, the amount of people's deposits in the banks has increased by 18 percent, nearly 19 percent. It means the people have trusted the banks and deposited their money there. As for notes and coins—the cash which is in the hands of the people and which they keep with them—this has been decreased by 8.5 percent. This is a very positive development in economic indicators and shows that funds have been transferred from people to the banks. As a result, the relative figures between the cash in people's hands—which we will call money—and that deposited in the banks by the people—quasi-money—are as follows: The ratio of money was 49.5 percent, and in the year 1368 this has been reduced to 45.7 percent. The ratio of quasi-money in the year 1367 was 50.5 percent, but in the year 1368 it has been increased to 54 percent. In other words, quasi-money has increased while the money in people's hands has decreased. This is regarded as a great success in a short period of five or six months by those who are aware of economic standards and know their effects in economic life.

As for our financial resources, our non-oil income has increased by 20 percent—I am giving the round figures; the true figure is 20.3 percent, but I only give the round figures. Our imports have increased by 57 percent, but most of our imports are investment goods or intermediary imports. One of the things which helped us was that when our oil revenue and our non-oil revenue increased, we managed to give some foreign exchange to our industries. So far, we have given $525 million of foreign exchange to our industries as follows: $373 million to our heavy and light industries, $64 million for mines, $88 million for commerce so that they can import the necessary items. We have sold the foreign exchange at a high price, at a competitive price. This caused the rial revenue of the government to be increased, and with these increased rials we have been able to reduce the budget deficit and we do not have a supplementary budget. For the first time in many years this year we succeeded in paying the New Year bonus to government employees and workers and everybody in cash. [passage omitted]

Of course, that task could have been carried out in a different manner, but that was not the correct policy for the government; that is, instead of providing foreign currency to the industry a the rate of 80 tomans, we could have supplied the currency at the rate of seven tomans, in which case goods could be produced very cheaply. For instance, there is a difference between a refrigerator which is manufactured with currency at a rate of 80 tomans or seven tomans. However, that policy is harmful for the country as a whole. [passage omitted]

If we transform people's foreign currency into cheap consumer goods, and the people quickly grab them and use them, then this will spread consumerism, and it will be at the expense of future generations. The use of the country's resources in such a manner will leave the government with no rials. If we sell foreign currency at the rate of seven tomans—suppose we have 15 billion rials of foreign currency earnings and sell it at the rate of seven tomans—then still our rial earnings will be very small and will not meet the country's consumption demands. Then we will be forced to borrow, resulting in inflation. Borrowing means printing more money, or weakening the value of monetary notes, leading to creation of inflation. Therefore, the most healthy way is that we should sell foreign currency to the industries at a suitable price, so that they can turn it into goods. Under boom conditions, the market's anxiety may then by alleviated, and goods can subsequently reach the people at average prices. [passage omitted]

Of course we do keep foreign currency at the government rate for important projects, or projects for the deprived

strata, who can come and obtain their share at a limited amount. However, we base the market's mechanism on this moderate rate of foreign currency. If we come and do this in all our industries, that is, industries which are at present chiefly producing quite little and have harmed the market, then there will be an abundance of goods and employment, while the factories will see a profit instead of a loss—as they are doing at present; they cannot pay their taxes to the government—the government will have more rials for its important projects, and the people will have more goods at their disposal. Furthermore, the subsidies which make people lazy and useless will also disappear.

Therefore, we are continuing this line of policy in our industries, while allocating a certain amount of foreign currency to import goods at the moment, because there is a shortage in the market. As to the spare parts. [incomplete sentence as heard] Therefore, our banks at the moment sell foreign currency at market rates to those who want to import permitted goods. Very well, we now said that we have given that foreign currency to our industries. [sentence as heard]

The situation of inflation in our country at the moment entails that some of the goods have become cheaper, while the price of some has increased, without any sign of lowering. Or some prices have come down and have gone up again due to special circumstances which I will point out later. During the last year, the rate of our inflation was 28.8 percent, that is nearly 29 percent. This year, so far the inflation rate has been 19.8 percent, that is nearly 20 percent. When we say the rate of inflation, we mean that prices have increased by 20 percent comparing to last year, but the rate has been lowered by eight or nine percent, and instead of prices going up by 29 percent, they have gone up by 20 percent. We do not say that we have lowered inflation in general. Of course, if production moves in all directions, pressures will increase on inflation and it will drop quicker. It must be noted that we have not yet received products, or have received very little, for which we supplied foreign currency. The great chunk of our foreign currency has been used during the last two or three months, and products are just beginning to surface, and will have their effect in the market within the next few months. We are as yet using some of our policies in connection with imports. This is about retail.

As far as wholesale is concerned, last year inflation was 21.5 percent; this year it is 19.2 percent, a drop of nearly two percent: from 21 to 19 percent. However, inflation in the wholesale sector increased by 19 percent [as heard]. One of the indicators for our growth is our production. According to a report given to me by the Central Bank, the production of our major workshops during the first three months of 1367 [21 March-21 June 1988] showed a negative growth rate of 8.5 percent. During the first three months of 1368 [21 March-21 June 1989], again we had a drop of 6.1 percent. However, during the second and third quarters—of course most our results are based on the third quarter—of the current year [ending 21 March 1990] we show 8.1 percent growth. [passage omitted]

This is a good indication that works are progressing due to the influence of conditions. I have a list here of those goods showing an increase in production. The production of vegetable oil during the current year has shown an increase of 36 percent. Production of textiles, particularly polyster, has shown an increase of 25 percent. Other growth figures are: machine-made carpets, 14 percent; paper, 20 percent; engine oil, 50 percent; car tires, 11 percent; washing powder, 15 percent; medicines, for which the rate of growth varies between five to 63 percent; cement, six percent; pipes and tubes, 37 percent; gas water heaters, 30 percent; plumbing tools, 16 percent; electric bulbs, 10 percent; water meters, 18 percent; radio and cassette players, 35 percent; television sets, 33 percent; meat mincer machines, 62 percent; and electric rice-cookers, 33 percent. These were the figures that have so far been compiled, and all show growth in comparison to last year. This shows that production conditions are improving, and as I have said we can see its proper boom from next year [beginning 21 March 1990], as we have no figures for this month. This all shows that due to our policies and the conditions of the country, the situation is improving. If we manage to consolidate our production levels, then we have resolved many of our other problems. Of course, various sectors and ministries have said a lot of things to me, but the ministries should come and speak for themselves. We would like to ask them to give people their reports at the end of this year. However, I will now mention the activities of some of the ministries, whose reports have reached me and are related to my debate today.

First, the Industries Ministry. The industries minister says that within the second half of this year [September 1989 to March 1990] we gave $1.907 billion to our factories and light industries. This is of course a very good figure, and in future we will see its effect, since in 1367 we had given them $643 million, that is, now that we have given them more than three times.

The people welcome the invitation to participate in some policies. The Industries Ministry announced that agreements in principle for sums up to 1 billion rials can be obtained from the provinces. It is no longer necessary to come to Tehran. This has resulted in a healthy rush toward industrial centers to obtain agreements in principles for industries. Apparently about 18,000 have applied so far.

For our production projects—not the industrial raw materials, but those projects which are about to be implemented—for the second six months of this year, we have so far given $420 million in foreign exchange toward their implementation.

There has been a 15 to 20 percent increase in the production of the Ministry of Mines and Minerals output during the past six months. What they have, such

as alumunium, iron and whatever they have in their mines, are all basic goods in the country. This year they have increased the production of copper from 55,000 tonnes to 70,000 tonnes, in other words, an increase of 15,000 tonnes. They are supposed to increase this to 100,000 tonnes by the March 1990. Aluminium has been produced at a remarkable rate, to the extent that at present we are producing 10,000 tonnes of aluminium per month. This meets nearly the entire needs of the country. In other words, we have no shortages. If we do experience a shortage somewhere, then it is due to a fault in distribution. We have enough aluminium to meet all the requirements of the people, whatever quantity they want to consume. Moreover, its price has been lowered just less than 50 percent, and at a later stage its production will increase even further.

Lead and zinc exports have increased to $30 million, and copper has gone from $14 million to $65 million. We have signed a number of contracts in the aluminium department to establish a major factor in Bandar-e 'Abbas. Agreements in principle have risen by 100 percent. A remarkable rise will be seen in the production of iron and steel in the next year at our Ahvaz and Esfehan projects. This will of course happen in the future, even though we have already allocated the expenditures including the foreign exchange.

The Oil Ministry has carried out fundamental tasks in oil production which they started after the war. This was carried out too before the new cabinet took office. Units were constantly reconstructed bringing them into the line of production.

Fertilizers and urea have passed the self-sufficiency level. Our consumption, at present is 1.2 million tonnes and we are now producing around 1.5 million tonnes. In other words, we have 300,000 tonnes of extra urea which will either be exported or used domestically, if for example we expand agriculture. People are free to take any quantity they want to Shiraz or other provinces for sale.

Recently, a plant in the Abadan refinery was activated, and the Shiraz [word indistinct] is ready to become operational soon. We have increased gas injection to a great extent. One of our faults in the war period was that we could not inject gas into the oil wells, which is technically incorrect and detrimental. The wells could be eroded and the income from the well diminished. We have invested heavily in this period to be able to carry out that injection which we are doing now.

The Kangan refinery was a very major project which was made operational. As you can see, gas pipes are being connected in cities, one after the other. These are highly fundamental tasks which involve large government expenditures because of the high prices of pipes, etc. But they are being carried out very rapidly at present. Many extensions have been added this year. In petrochemicals, the secondary units of chemical fertilizers of the chemical section of the Razi complex have become operational with a capacity of 500,000-540,000 tonnes. Income from oil, as I said, has increased this year and we hope that the situation will improve by next year.

We have paid a high price, both the Ministries of Construction Jihad and Agriculture have done their utmost to make us agriculturally self-sufficient. The ministry is exterting much pressure on the fisheries, which at present enjoys a good production level. We have purchased a large number of ships which will soon become operational and, God willing, they will soon float on the deep waters in the ocean and the Gulf of Oman, hence increasing production in fisheries in the Caspian Sea. Rapid investments are being made in the construction of fishing ports which are in a serious shortage in the south of our country. Good projects have been drawn up for utilizing the fishing production capacity inside the country.

In the agricultural department, the Ministry of Agriculture has drawn up projects on an area of 450,000 hectares with the aim of increasing activity from 1,960 kg to 3,200 kg per hectare, which will produce an extra 550,000 tonnes. God willing, we will see this in the year's production. The insurance of agricultural products has been guaranteed. We have guaranteed the prices of many things and will purchase large amounts of products so that farmers will not worry about a glut in production. If a farmer sells his product at a higher price, he can keep the profit. But if he does not find any buyers, the government will buy them. We have adequate amounts of pesticides, fertilizers, and so on this year, because we provided foreign exchange some time in advance to eliminate delays. Consequently, there are no problems now and the depots are in good condition.

We have increased the production of agricultural machinery to twice the amount, in the past six months, and by next year it will be increased even more.

We have so far increased production in animal-husbandry. The number of one-day-old chicks have risen from 17 million to 20 million, which means an increase of 3 million. We intend to increase that number to 27 million by May 1990. This is an optimal level for chicken production. Chicken and animal breeding cooperatives have been strengthened. One of our policies toward realizing the rights of a number of the war heros was to give them a license for such agricultural tasks, to a capacity level of 5 million chickens, and 7,000 milking cows, and the distribution of 3,100 milking cows to those animal breeders. The (?chicken farming) project is one of the fundamental tasks in chicken production. It has come into fruition in Azerbaijan already, which has meant developments in our chicken industry.

Telecommunications have done very well. The industry has already given 270,000 telephones to people, and has connected 1,000 villages to the main telecommunications network. Facsimiles, which play a very effective

role in communications by expediting activities, are placed at the disposal of those who need them in the country. The postal services have been greatly expanded and should be used more. Our people are not totally familiar with the postal system. Telephone, post, and facsimiles should be incorporated in our communications culture to reduce expensive and unnecessary travels. In the developed countries they have made many expenditure cuts, by doing that. [passage omitted]

The Ministry of Housing and Urban Development has in the past six months expedited procedures for finding suitable lands throughout the country for those people who need to build houses. At present, a large number of independent and satellite towns are being readied—supplied with streets, water, electricity, telephones, and all amenities. Our intention is not to charge people the price of the land, apart from what the government has spent in creating the suitable environment. For Tehran, too, we have designated five areas for the construction of towns.

Only yesterday we convened a supreme session of urban development, debating whether those projects should be ratified or not. We debated for two or three hours, without attaining any results; hence the need to hold another session to decide the housing of a population of around 1.5 million as stipulated in those projects, in the form of independent or satellite towns, to be constructed in the Tehran region. There are debates on whether those tasks are technically viable or not. Independent and satellite towns are being constructed in nearly all areas where we have a high concentration of people.

Soon the procedures for transferring those lands will be carried out in two categories: The first category comprises those who possess the necessary conditions for entitlement. The second comprises those who take the lands, build on them, then place them at the disposal of those who are entitled to houses, which is a kind of mass construction. But that does not mean that they give the land to anybody, only to those who need houses. This is a policy on which we will elaborate further. In this policy we intend to use the private sector and nongovernmental resources.

As to the Ministry of Health and Medical Treatment, the main task which we preliminarily wanted of it was to introduce order in the pharmaceuticals situation. Fortunately, that ministry has increased production of medical supplies speedily. We have had a growth of 65 percent in production of pharmaceuticals and medical equipment. I am not fully informed but according to reports I receive it seems that 70 percent of the difficulties of that sector have been solved, although we still have some very acute difficulties which require time to be solved. We are short of hospital beds and facilities and suitable cadres, but the ministry has plans. There is, meanwhile, completion and opening of a pharmaceuticals plant in Borujerd, called Damloran, which will make the country self-sufficient in veterinary products. Authorization for imports of medical supplies, agreement in principle for the establishment of five medical schools in the provinces of Kordestan, Ilam, Lorestan, Bushehr Kohkiluyeh; establishment of wards for kidney transplants in new areas; expansion of surgical wards and cardiac hospitals, as well as highly specialized services, are among the new facilities. [passage omitted]

As for higher education, the main tasks which they [the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research] have had include the establishment of 33 courses for experts which I have mentioned in another part regarding the energy sector. [passage omitted] Some of these courses are to choose senior trainees for sending abroad. For doctorate courses, 2,709 candidates have been approved who will be sent. Also, 1,726 candidates from among the children of martyrs have been placed at the universities, and 579 candidates of deprived regions are enrolled at the universities. That is because one of our problems in the deprived areas is a lack of cadres. We must select candidates from those places for training because cadres from better-off regions are not inclined to work in deprived areas. Also, 20,00 candidates for universities have been chosen from among combatants. It is a considerable figure though it does not include all of the combatants. [passage omitted]

Among other sectors who perform important work I must mention the Interior Ministry. It has expanded the issue of the campaign against smuggling during the past few months, and has delivered telling blows against the smugglers. God willing, we will weaken the narcotics smugglers so that they may never be the kind of scourge they are. They are making our youth victims by the droves. So we must eradicate it. Work has gone on well during the past two or three months. Of course, we are faced with mischiefs by the global arrogance which hinder us. In a serious way they prevent us from making a success of this affair. They mobilize the narcotics smugglers in the countries which are our neighbors and also in countries a little farther away—in the Far Eastern region. They give smugglers financial resources and even arms. And if possible, they give valuable intelligence to smugglers and support them. This is a worldwide problem with roots in their own countries and yet they do experience the bitter rewards of these mischiefs. In the United States today one of the most diffucult problems for the people is narcotics. The President and his family are forced to lead the fight. Now in Colombia it is being turned into a political problem. Although this bitter effect is hurting them we see that they have mixed smuggling with politics.

The counterrevolutionary political grouplets, whose lives are financed by the imperialistic countries, especially the United States, are supporters of smuggling. Indeed, they are woven into one under the cover of smuggling, financed through income from smuggling. Backed by the help of the global arrogance, they are active against the people. In the name of a campaign for the people they are attracting the young. The Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Intelligence, and the security

forces are following it up. In a desirable period they will cut down and eradicate these mischiefs, God willing.

Another point I must refer to is the issue of defense and defense resources. The Ministry of Defense depends on the dimensions of its industries in the sector of material and numbers. Well, there are the Armed Forces who perform their work well. They do it in combat engineering, training exercises, and keeping themselves and their wares ready for combat.

We are tackling the dimension of military industries seriously, basically, and fundamentally. During the war we realized, we felt that a country which is exposed to danger cannot shape its defenses by pinning hopes on others. Defense, defending the country, must exist within the country. And here the most important factor is military industries. Therefore, we have attached a great deal of value in the government program to the military industries—the kind of industries which we learned during the war were essential. We know better than the advanced countries which weapons are more effective. During the war we acquired valuable experiences in weapons technology and the application of hardware. We have shaped our military industries on the basis of this experience.

It is not timely for me to say what we have done, not is it right of people to expect me to say what we have made and how much. These are among the secrets of your country. We have made good our weak points and we are strengthening what we think are our strong points. We have had tangible achievements. God willing, you will learn about them in the future. We hope there will be no war so that we will not be forced to use them. But if the enemy resorts to mischief again it will learn that during the time when we had no war on our hands the sons of Islam were undertaking suitable work.

It is an Islamic principle for us to be prepared. It is a costly venture but our people are happy to sacrifice some of their welfare to strengthen their fundamental defenses. Our Armed Forces are doing their work well. The leader of the revolution, who is the commander in chief of the forces, has raised the morale among personnel. He personally tends to all the issues of the Army and the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps [IRGC] and others. Our future defenses will be in line with the needs of the revolution.

I have not received figures from other ministries, such as the energy minister, but I am informed that the energy minister has done a good job. You noticed that we did not have any serious, harmful power cuts. We had some occasional power cuts, but they were not important. They have reconstructed nearly all the damaged power generators. There are some power generators under construction which are progressing well. God willing, when those projects are completed, we will have no shortage of energy. In the plan we have tried to ensure that we will not have the difficulties of previous years. In previous years, mainly due to the bombings, many of power generators were taken out of the grid, and we have connected them back to the grid at vast expense. [passage omitted]

In the Roads Ministry, 30 percent has been added to the transportation of goods, without purchasing any new vehicles, because in this period we have not purchased any new vehicles. The 30 percent increase in transportation is a considerable figure. In our ports we have very few delays. Now we have to pay less demurrage. Of course, we have some cases. I think there are only four or five cases, but they are much less than before, despite the fact that cargo has been much increased.

As for the railways, the railway line between Bafq-Bandar-e 'Abbas to Sirjan is ready for commissioning and in the near future you will be informed of the date of its commissioning. That will be a very effective network, especially for transportation of minerals to big factories in Ahvaz, to Isfahan, Golegohar, and Chadermalu and other mines which will be exploited in the future. When that line has been connected to Bandar-e 'Abbas it can solve a major part of the problems in transportation. They are now working on that. We hope that one of our effective measures will be to solve the transportation problems of the country. Of course, it is not something which can bear fruit in a few days. Without having a proper transportation network we will not be able to activate our economy. At the moment we have set up a headquarters and whenever we feel that there is a shortage we focus our attention there. For instance, one day we see that we have to increase the transportation of wheat, another day we see we need to increase the transportation of rice, or cement or oil. Whenever one of them reaches a critcal stage, that headquarters diverts facilities from this place to that place and this is how we are solving our problems now.

The Heavy Industries Ministry has very good projects and they have also taken big loans from us this year in order to manufacture a large number of trucks, buses, and mini-buses. We are going to give them at government prices. In the future there are certain goods which we should provide for the people with at the seven toman rate of exchange [for each dollar], including these items. These are items whose prices we cannot increase very much and we should manufacture sufficient quantities. For instance, tractors, combines, chemical fertilizers, poisons, and all other things which are connected with agriculture and irrigation, transportation—public transportation, not private transportation—should be placed at the disposal of the people at the government rate of exchange. It seems that in the next year, and this has already started, the Heavy Industries will be one of our most active sectors in order to solve transportation and agricultural difficulties. They have already started their delivery, but most of it will be after the New Year. In the New Year, we shall have all those things.

In the Commerce Ministry our major effort is directed at solving the export and import issues. One of our difficulties which we have inherited is this bureaucracy in

our import and export work, customs problems, various regulations. [passage omitted]

We should try to save the country from dependence on oil income. Oil income should be there but it should be mainly used for investment, not for consumption. [passage omitted]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been very active in this period. The political move which I referred to earlier which neutralized many of the distortions by our enemies and by counterrevolutionaries was one of the initiatives of the Intelligence Ministry. We hope we will have greater successes in the future. At the moment, the main efforts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are concentrated on Resolution 598. This is a destiny-making issue for us. We, all alone, are showing resistance so that we can safeguard the rights of our nation, so that we can protect the efforts which were made by our fighters and the blood of our esteemed martyrs which were shed for the sake of the protection of the revolution; so that the enemies will not be able to deny us those rights, and so that we can achieve the rights of our nation and our revolution. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is entrusted with this major responsibility which it is discharging well.

Other organizations which I have not mentioned are also doing their work according to their capacity. On the whole, if I wish to sum up, I am very hopeful about the future of this country, even materially which our enemies had always portrayed as our weakness. Our spiritual future is even brighter. Even now the moral gains of our revolution are at a satisfactory level and we will safeguard them. As a person who has nearly all the information about the country and knows where we are going, I am optimistic about the future. Your country can be an independent, free, and prosperous country. Iran can be made into a rose garden as the result of the efforts of our people and our officials. We have sufficient material resources in our country. We have sufficient numbers of people and very talented people. There is sufficient amount of goodwill among the officials of the country. The trend of events is also good, thanks be to God. From a political point of view there is unity and solidarity in our country. Despite all the propaganda, saying that there is a power struggle going on here and that there are disputes, differences and arguments, all of these are lies. The truth is that there are no serious differences regarding the principles, the aspirations and the paths among all the popular forces and all those who are in charge.

The amount of debates that exist in our country—for instance, you see sharp debates in the Majles, or in the press, or in the Voice and Vision—is the least which can exist in a healthy, open political climate. Is it possible for a country which is free, where people can say what they want, where the deputies can say what they want and have access to a podium, where the newspapers can write what they want? Is it possible for there to be no differences of opinion in the country? Are the people the products of a factory so that all of them are alike and think alike? Of course, there are differences of opinion, but these differences of opinion are useful. Our people should never worry if they see one deputy attack another in the Majles, or certain things are said in the press or the government is critcized. One should not worry about such things. These are our strong points. Ideas should be expressed, criticisms should be made, ideas should be investigated so that the best path is chosen. Most people are behind our leadership and will do whatever they wish. Those who have different opinions should also be free to express their views. It is possible that there may be something useful even among what they say.

Therefore, thanks be to God, in this country the forces which favor the revolution and constitute the decisive majority of our people—I am not saying everyone, but the decisive majority—are united in principles and in the major policies and are working together.

Our voice is also reaching the ears of the world. The Voice and the Vision is now transmitting your thoughts in a number of foreign languages. Of course, the newspapers of the world—at least those with high circulations—do not write our views, and the radios of the world also do not broadcast our views. Nevertheless, we have succeeded in transmitting our views to all parts of the world. At the moment, all those who favor the Islamic Republic in the country—I mean in the world—know what we are saying. They receive our news, sooner or later. In the past few months, the Voice and Vision built powerful installations in different part of the country, in the south, east, west, and north, so that they can better transmit our voices. God willing, our Vision will also be able to reach places further away. You can see that the Muslims of a country like the Soviet Union, which had closed doors, are familiar with our views. Anywhere in the world you go you will find people familiar with our views.

We will continue our policy of supporting the Muslims in the world. Of course, we will not interfere in the affairs of others. Each country has its own laws and is run by its own people. However, we have a right as a Muslim to defend another Muslim who is demanding his right in another part of the world. We will continue this policy without interfering in others' affairs. We will fight against all the oppression, tyranny, and aggression which exists in the world. We can never compromise with a criminal, aggressive development. In a place where we have strength, we will tie their hands. In a place where we do not have strength, we will protest and express our views.

Usually, when the oppressed people of the world make a legitimate demand, they will be supported by the Islamic Republic. This is part of our international policy. Let them not accuse us falsely that the export of the revolution means that we wish to interfere in the affairs of others, neighbors or others. We will not interfere, but the world should have enough fairness to allow us to express

our views. If someone in the world decides to follow us, he should not be denied this right. God's peace and blessings be upon you.

[Unidentified correspondent] In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Mr. President, I thank you, on behalf of my colleagues in the media who are attending this conference, for having granted us the opportunity to ask our questions. We are fully aware of the heavy duties your government faces at present. We would be grateful if you could give us more opportunities so that we can carry out our duty as the medium between the government and the people, and vice versa.

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] Very well. I accept your request.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. As a representative of the press, I have many questions. But since I do not want to take up my colleague's time, I will briefly ask my question on the issue of transport, namely, the transport available to the people in Tehran, which is one of the significant problems faced by them at the moment. When you leave your house for work in the morning, you have to walk a long way due to shortage of transport facilities. I would be grateful if you would answer my question.

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] Yes. As you know, Tehran is a city which was not built to cater for this number of people, in terms of its streets, roads, and squares. Tehran suffers from overpopulation. The fabric of the city is not sound. However, we have many plans for the city which are extensive. Among the fundamental tasks, there is the issue of the metro, on which I have always placed emphasis. Now I am supporting activating the metro. We have placed a number of buses at the disposal of the United Bus Company. By next year we will manufacture around 6,000 buses domestically, out of which Tehran will have its share. There are some buses which are not used due to a shortage of bus drivers, whose salaries have been very low. We will increase their salaries soon, so that their potentials may be fully utilized. To some extent, improvements should be made in the traffic conditions, and the traffic regulations should be taken more seriously. I believe that if we supply buses and minibuses, according to the extent of our streets, and activate our metro, and repair those streets which are in need of repair, then we will arrive at an optimal level. We are working on this plan.

[Correspondent] My second question concerns the peace talks. Would you please inform us of the state of Soviet intervention in concluding the Iran-Iraq peace talks on the basis of UN Resolution 598. What policies has the Islamic Republic of Iran adopted or does it intend to adopt to end the no war, no peace condition?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] We represent one side of the coin. We are the side which truly seeks peace, while remaining adamant that our rights are not trampled on. On this basis we have announced our readiness. The Soviets offered to mediate and we accepted, but we asked them to provide us with a plan for the talks. We asked them what they were really after. What did they want to talk about when we approached the negotiating table? They said they would provide us with a plan and that they would also speak to Iraq. As yet, however, they have not presented us with a plan. However, the UN secretary general is now ahead of them. I believe that his plan is at a more advanced level than that of the Soviets. The New York talks will be brought forward according to the wishes of the UN secretary general.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have named one of the ways to increase production and control the existing cash flow in society, as that of transferring the nonstrategic industries to the people. What sectors do those industries incorporate? And how do you propose to carry out the transfer?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] This is based on the Constitution. It is stipulated in the constitution that a number of industries should be owned by the government. We can not transfer those industries which according to the Constitution belong to the state. Those are chiefly industries of strategic importance. However, in practice a number of nonstrategic industries are presently held by the government, directly or indirectly. A number of those industries are held by the Ministry of Heavy Industries and some are held by the National Industries Organization. A number are held by the banks—banks are all government-owned. A number are held by the Foundation for the Deprived, the Martyrs Foundation, the 15th Khordad Foundation, and some other government foundations, all of which are in one way or another affiliated with the government. They hold the main part of the industries.

Our policy is to transfer those industries, in as far as possible, to the private sector, so that they can manage them. The venue is the stock exchange. However, the stock exchange will not list shares of any factory or company which is not in a sound financial position. This is to provide the shareholders with the necessary protection. The companies—both governmental and private—have already started to improve their financial systems so that they can become profitmaking. Hence they are listed by the stock exchange. Those that are profitmaking and robust will be listed on the stock exchange and thus their transfer to the private sector will be accomplished. But it depends on the owners of those companies as to what quantity they want to offer, and what quantity they want to retain. We have allowed them to operate freely and encourage them to do so.

[Correspondent] In view of the Majles' ratification of a bill allowing the government to use foreign-based credits within the course of the Five-Year Plan, can you tell us whether anything has been done yet to attract such credits? If so, what countries are being considered by the Islamic Republic? Lastly, in what sectors will these credits be utilized?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] The sectors have been determined in the Majles, and they are also mentioned in the

government's plan. We can use foreign credits for certain projects, such as the construction of dams, petrochemical industries, cement, tires, aluminum and similar things. Yes, we have determined those projects and foreign parties have come to many places and are engaged in negotiations. The aluminum factory for which we have signed a contract was the first project of that kind, and work on that project is starting now in Bandar 'Abbas. Some programs have begun regarding paper, cement, tires, and petrochemicals; while negotiations are in progress about the construction of a few dams. Of course, these credits are not in the form of loans; that is, a foreign company comes here a pays a percentage of costs of a factory—say a paper mill—and when the factory begins producing, that company benefits from the factory's profits for a few years by the time that its investment is paid off. That is how such credits will be sought. Right now, we have received quite enthusiastic responses from all over the world, however, we have posed some difficult conditions which some of the companies have not yet accepted, and we are currently engaged in talks.

[Correspondent] Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, with the comprehensive report which you presented about the present conditions of the country, a lot of our questions have been answered. However, the question that I would like to pose concerns the distribution of income and social justice. A part of your report concerned the issue of inflation, and the government's success in controlling it, reducing it from 29 to 20 percent. However, as you would agree, even that rate is quite considerable for the salary and wage earners. Please tell us what measures the government has adopted to resolve this problem for those receiving salaries. Also, in view of the fact that within the next few days, next year's budget will be debated in the Majles, and a great part of the government's rial earnings will have to come from people's taxes, please tell us whether the mechanism for collecting taxes is the same as before or not? Also, what policy is the government following to prevent the negative impact of receiving taxes? [sentence as heard]

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] The tax laws, as has been explained in the Five-Year Plan, must be revised in accordance with the plan. At present, the Economic Ministry is preparing the reforms and will present them to the government. As you said at first, our main policy is social justice in distributing the country's resources. This constitutes the essence of our direction. During the last few years, you have seen in practice that despite the fact that the Majles, the government, his holiness the imam, and all of us insisted on the implementation of social justice, the conditions of shortages in the country and the imbalance between supply and demand resulted in unsuitable and unhealthy individuals amassing a great deal of wealth. Under the conditions of shortages, such people, through rumor-mongering, hoarding, and the creation of black markets, gained great incomes at the expense of the deprived consumers. We believe that the main path is that first of all we must bring about conditions of balance in our country and raise the level of production and employment, so that the work force will not have to sell its labor cheaply and utilize competition among empoyers in its interest and for its own rights. When normal conditions exist in the country, then our aspirations and Islamic objectives will be easily attained. Then one can easily eliminate hoarding from the country. Right now, whenever we try to steer the country onto a particular course, we are forced to retreat due the shortages. But under the suitable and normal conditions, the government can very easily limit the hoarders, black marketeers, and blood-suckers, and thereby sustain such a normal condition. The salaried workers and wage earners in general have had the worst living conditions during this period. We have started our plans from them, that is to say that our first measure was to pay them a New Year bonus. Within the next year, the salaries of government employees will increase by a good rate. The workers' salaries had not gone up during the last few years, but we have increased the minimum wage by about 20 percent, that is from 83 to 100 [not further specified]. We must pay more attention to wage earners, so that their rights may be guaranteed. We must further break the back of inflation. Of course as I have said in Friday prayer sermons that people should not expect an immediate resolution to the inflation problem, as this is a task which takes two or three years. So far as the plan is not implemented and the our fundamental economic resources are not put into a healthy shape, such economic wrangles will persist. Without economic problems, however, social justice can be guaranteed, and taxes will be dealt with fairly.

[Correspondent] As one of the main duties of the Foreign Ministry, you mentioned its following up the implementation of Resolution 598. We heard in the news, that this morning the draft agenda for the next meeting of the two countries' foreign ministers, was submitted to the UN envoys of both countries. Please state whether a report in that connection has reached you or not. Also, please tell us if the provisions of that draft are different to the text of the resolution or not.

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] We will not accept any change in the text of the resolution. I have not as yet read the provisions. I did receive something this morning, but I have not had time to read it. God willing, I will read it soon. However, what is certain is that we will not accept anything that is not in the resolution.

[Correspondent] The Oil Ministry announced some months ago that it was prepared to discontinue gas rationing. However, no action has been taken in that respect yet. Please tell us why?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] The Oil Ministry proposed to the Economic Council that gas rationing be discontinued and the restrictions on its sale lifted. There was some discussion about its price, whether it should be three tumans [per liter], six tumans, or an average of the two. The Oil Ministry proposed that petrol should be sold for four tumans and without restrictions. The policy of the

Economic Council is based on preventing price increases in general. They said they did not consider any prices increase appropriate, at this juncture, until production reaches a suitable level. Therefore, the Oil Ministry proposals was not approved. Furthermore, during the past two or three months, our sources of supply, mainly the USSR and Romania, have had difficulties. Consequently, we have had difficulty importing petroleum byproducts. We have delayed our decision until conditions become normal.

[Correspondent] What is the present status of the Iranian Armed Forces? And at what stage are they with regard to the purchase of military equipment?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] We are mainly involved in the manufacture of military equipment. At present, our forces are primarily assigned to the reconstruction of their equipment, such as aircraft, tanks, rifles, guns and so on, which were damaged in the war. They are also involved in comprehensive training, based on experience, and defensive and offensive exercises. Yes, we have purchased military equipment that we cannot manufacture. At the moment we are mainly concerned with storing our facilities.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, as you are aware, and as you have stated, our administrative system is inefficient and has problems. Economic shortages on the one hand, and a certain amount of corruption in the administrative system, on the other, are upsetting the people and causing problems for them. Has your government made any plans to improve the situation?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] I am glad that you asked this because I forgot to mention it in my speech. Yes, we know that it will be extremely difficult to carry out our programs because of the existing administrative system. I have given you some examples concerning exports, imports, and customs. The Administrative Affairs Organization prepared a relatively good plan, presented it to the government, and it was discussed. The government wrote a circular which I sent to all organizations 10 or 15 days ago, three or four days ago, to cut red tape, all organizations should look into the matter and find out the reasons for the delays within two and a half months, by the middle of May. If there are legal obstacles, manpower shortages, or anything else, they should tell us. Also, they should tell us what they need to carry out their tasks quicker and on schedule. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, considering the fact that the Indian Government and the provincial government of Kashmir have recently massacred Muslims in Kashmir, as the country's highest executive official, please tell us what is Iran's official stance in the matter?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] We have already declared our stance. We strongly condemn the injustice committed against the people of Kashmir. We have called on the Indian Government to treat the people in a democratic manner, particularly since the Indian Government at the time agreed at the UN that the people's vote would be heeded. What the people want, they should be given. The people cannot be treated this way. We believe that the Indian Government is making a mistake. However, we do not want to get entangled with the Indian Government on this issue and strain our relations with them. As I have said, we have informed them about our stance. We believe that the people of Kashmir have the right to determine their own fate.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you said recently that some of the subsidies will stop and the price of the goods supplied by the government will rise too. In view of the fact that the government does not have the necessary control over the private sector, do you think that the proposed measure will lead to a general price rise at all levels?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] I did not say that. When did I say the subsidies will stop? The subsidies will be better organized. Look, at the present we subsidize everything. As I mentioned in my discussion about the industry, when we allow the industries to import their requirements at the dollar exchange rate of seven tumans [black market rate is over 100 tomans per dollar], it means the state is subsidizing the industries. When we decide to allocate foreign currency to the industries at the competitive market rate, we are in effect cutting their subsidy to some extent. But this will be compensated by production. This sort of subsidy will cease. But the essential commodities required by the people will continue to be subsidized. The rationed goods and coupons will remain as before and the families will continue receiving their share as before. An example about kerosene was mentioned earlier. That is, kerosene or diesel fuel is given to the people at a very low price, almost free. That is, the government only charges the people for the transportation costs. We do not charge them for the investment, extraction, and the rest. These subsidies will remain. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, in view of the developments that we are witnessing all over the world, and the harmony and coordination among the major powers, could you please analyze the future prospects for the country and our system. What shape will our future take in this era of developments?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] It is quite difficult now to predict what will happen in the future world. Apparently the two blocs of the world will become one; that is, the Eastern bloc will no longer remain against the West as a superpower. Things will not remain as before, but we do not know what will happen in the world. For instance, currently you see that the issue of Germany has become a serious problem for Europe, the U.S. and the USSR. The issue of unity between the two Germanys has created problems for several countries. France is facing a problem. The USSR is facing a problem in the way that the events are taking shape, as it is suggested that Germany should remain in NATO after unification. Poland is facing a problem. Other countries, which were at war with it in the past, are facing a problem. The

United States itself is facing a problem. This is a problem in the West. The problems of this sort will replace the previous problem of polarization in two blocs. There will be new rivalries in the world. At any rate, we have decided from the start to stand on our two feet. Our assumption is that no one in the world will help us, and we have to manage and protect ourselves through our own means. Of course, the more allies we can find, the better our fate will be. We think Iran will remain in today's world as an entity, an independent country, and an example of independence and freedom. Of course, we have to pay a relatively heavy price for this policy. We are ready to pay such a price, and our people want the same. I do not envisage any major problem for us under the new conditions.

[Correspondent] Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, what are your views on the news sensation and the problems that rose at the Azadi sports stadium?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] This demonstrated the grudge, hatred, and at the same time the despondency of our enemies. Well, an incident occurred during a sports event. First, it was not the first time; we have had similar incidents several times before. They exploited a minor issue in order to give a breath of life to the counterrevolutionary forces and to cure their depression. They raised baseless rumors on this issue. Foreign radio stations broadcast a new report on the issue daily. But our people can see the truth here. Foreign radios cannot bring any news to the people who are here and go to the streets more than me, and who realize that the issue was so minor and trivial that it was not even worth discussing. This only shows that the world is desperate to find a subject against us to magnify. This demands our vigilance and stresses the need for our propaganda duties. For instance, the Islamic Guidance Ministry, the Voice and Vision, the Foreign Ministry, and all those involved in propaganda issues, should use their resources. The Islamic Guidance Ministry is present all over the world, in many places. It should explain the facts more, and of course it is doing so. Currently, the ministry is doing good work in informing the world of our true situation. It should clarify the point in order to prevent the people from being deceived abroad.

[Correspondent] Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, six to seven months have passed in the life of your cabinet; do you feel the need to reshuffle it? Is the rumor true that several of the ministers are going to be replaced?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] No, this rumor is not true. At the present moment, I am satisfied with my ministers, with all my ministers. Of course, they are not performing their tasks at the same level. Some are working and performing better, and some are working at the normal level. It does not seem likely that we might reshuffle the cabinet so soon.

[Correspondent] Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, one of the subjects of discussion on ways of solving the problem of inflation and economic difficulties is about changing the country's monetary system. What is Your Excellency's opinion on the this issue?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] We do not see any need to change our monetary system. We have a powerful waterfall [as heard] and we can use its potential power to amend our monetary system; we have started this task: You can see other foreign currency, which is the main dynamic power for moving our economy, has a high price inside the country. Of course, this has some undesirable effect on prices. We must eliminate this gradually. At the same time, however, the government is earning hefty sums of rials for exchanging the same foreign currency. We have devised a good system of exchanging our foreign currency for goods, so that the government can earn more rials in this way. The government will exploit this to reduce the money in circlation. Since we can collect the money supply by this method, we do not need to amend our monetary system. Previously, when other governments were forced to change their monetary system after being engaged in a war, it was because they did not earn any foreign currency for many years after the war; when they wanted to earn foreign currency, they had to spend their own currency to buy foreign currency at a high rate. They therefore had to print money all the time. Our system is quite the reverse. Thanks to our oil resources and the exports potential of the country, including cottage industries, carpets, pistachios, caviar, minerals, stone quarries, the existing industries with their export potential, manpower, and many other assets at our disposal, we can earn foreign currency. We can then easily sell this currency to the public to earn large amounts of rials. We can do this in a healthy way, so what is the need for changing our monetary system? In a period, I think within the Five-Year Plan, the government can reach a healthy monetary balance. Of course my remarks should be be interpreted in society as a promise that comes quickly into fruition. With such expectations the people become disappointed, and two days later they complain that yet another promise was not realized. At any rate, I see a healthy monetary system for the future.

[Correspondent] What is the reason for the near failure of your anti-inflationary program to halt the price increases?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] First, the program succeeded in curbing inflation. I gave a figure earlier saying that we reduced the inflation rate by 10 percent. Many items such as cooking oil, sugar, rice, aluminum, and many small items are cheaper now. In the months of Aban and Azar [23 October to 21 December 1989], our inflation rate dropped; that is, it did not rise. Apparently in the month of Aban the inflation rate dropped by 1.6 percent, and in the month of Azar by six percent. This is according to the figures we have been given. But in the following months of Dey and Bahman [22 December 1989 to 19 February 1990], the inflation began to go up again. In the earlier months we used to inject foreign currency in to the open market. That is, while allocating

it to the commercial and production sector, the Central Bank used to give foreign currency to any applicant in the open market. As a result, the currency rate dropped from 160 tomans to 100 tomans [per dollar]. This left its influence on the imported goods. The Central Bank then adopted a new policy, by which the injection of currency continued, but with a plan. In the future we are going to allow private brokers and money exchangers to trade openly. [passage indistinct]

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct] Have there been any discussions with the United States regarding this matter?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] Regarding the hostages we are now saying what we have always said. We have said that the issue of the hostages does not concern us at all, and it realy does not concern us. Of course, Britain, the United States, and others expect us to make use of the influence that we have in Lebanon. We have told them that we will make use of our influence at a time when you, the West, will also make use of your influence in our interest, when you come and release our hostages in Lebanon or when you reduce your mischievous acts against us.

Of course, the Americans continue being obstinate and say: No, we are not prepared to negotiate over the hostages. In fact, we are not a party to the negotiations, the party of the issue are the Lebanese. As to whether there have been any discussions, in the Hague we always have discussions with the Americans over our disputes. There America is on one side and we are on the other side and we discuss the legal issues that we have there. At times, there are also discussions about the hostages. Again recently there have been some discussions. Former remarks have been repeated.

Of course, we are really interested. I personally, and the rest of our friends, too, are interested that the issue of the hostages be settled in some way. The Americans and others always make use of this issue as a lever for portraying the Lebanese as terrorists and portraying us as Lebanese supporters. Inside their country, the Americans need to have such levers. Therefore, they are not very serious about settling the issue. We are interested that the issue be settled. If the Lebanese themselves go and settle their problems with them in some way, we will also encourage this step. There have been no other discussions except messages.

During this time [as heard] anytime that any of Western politicians come here, or their friends come, they bring certain messages saying that they wish the issue to be settled, they wish the disputes and differences to be resolved. We tell them the same things we have been saying, and they also go on saying the same things.

[Correspondent] In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Of course, my question has become a little repetitive. However, that was one aspect of the issue and I do not repeat it again. Recently in the domestic English language newspapers the issue of the release of the hostages has been raised. Is this an official move by the government, and is it a means of establishing contact with the United States?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] I think that the issue reached a climax when Mr. Haj Fadlallah said in a speech in Lebanon that he was in favor of the freeing of the hostages and that he had described it as a point of weakness for Lebanon. Coinciding with that, one of the Iranian newspapers which is written in English apparently also had said something similar here. The coincidence of these two remarks has meant something to the world. In our general remarks there were also the same remarks, that we are interested that the issue of the hostages be settled. This has given rise to some hopes. I think that they themselves probably had some contact with, maybe, the governments of the region, and there, and also there might have been other issues which have given rise to a hope more than before. [sentence as heard]

I also see from afar the climate that in any case the issue of the hostages is moving towards a solution. However, we are not such a principal pillar [as heard] in the issue. We can exert an influence with such recommendations. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Does the government have any plan to fight against the economic Croesuses? At any rate, such people throw a wrench into the government's work. Have you thought of any plan?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] Yes, we think it is not at all acceptable that a group of wealthy individuals influences state policies. We have certain plans. But first we must prepare the grounds for implementation of these plans. We have started the work, and hope that within a reasonable time you will witness that such affairs no longer exist in the country.

[Correspondent] With thanks for your patience, you realize that goods produced inside the country by purchasing the raw material at competitive foreign currency rates are facing serious difficulty; and the Central Bank has not honoured its promise to allocate our currency this year. Could you please explain whether the government has any plan to rectify this?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] I did not understand your question, could you explain?

[Correspondent] The government is not in favor of those exporters who refuse to sell their foreign curency earnings to the bank.

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] We have decided that the bank should allocate foreign currency to those applicants who intend to import goods, whether the people sell their foreign currency profit back to the bank or not. This year the Central Bank was supposed to allocate some foreign currency to the industrial sector. But the exporters did not return any of their foreign currency profit to the Central Bank; and the bank, thus, refused to give them any more. However, we approved the bank's continuing

to allocate foreign currency, from the state foreign curency revenue held in the bank, to the industrial producers. This began in the month of Esfand [month beginning 20 February] and we will pay them all the amount we guaranteed. This means all the industries that expect to receive currency from us, will do so. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, as you said in your speech, one of the problems we are facing is the upward trend of prices for some goods including cereals, legumes, fruit, services, and other items. On the other hand we do not see any supervison of measures to halt these rises. Retailers sell their commodities at any price they wish. What sort of short-term measures are you going to take to confront this phenomenon?

[HashemiRafsanjani] We have no plan to curb the price of those goods, which we agreed should be left alone to compete with the market forces. That is, we believe these prices should be allowed to follow the principle of supply and demand. However, at this juncture we do not deem it expedient to allow every commodity to follow the theory of supply and demand. We have, therefore, passed some laws at the Expediency Discernment Council on the punishment of profiteers. The Commerce Ministry is in charge of implementing these laws. An organization has also been set up and is ready to implement these laws. In the future we will inform the Commerce Ministry of the fixed price for certain commodities; and the ministry will control these rates through implementation of the punishment law.

[Correspondent] How far do you envisage realizing your economic objectives, namely on utilizing full capacity of the factories, greater production and higher figure of non-oil exports?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] About the factories' capacity, I am quite hopeful, because right now there is plenty of pressure to receive foreign currency from us. I read you a figure: The Industries Ministry informed us that during the past couple of months alone it has allocated three times more foreign currency to private applicants than last year's total figure. Applicants come and buy the foreign currency for productive purposes. It seems that our factories will become more active to fill their capacity. Our non-oil exports depend on our factories working at higher capacity. I think we can count on our exports in five or six months time. We hope that in the Five-Year Plan we will achieve our calculated goal for exports.

[Correspondent] My last question is about Your Excellency's cabinet plan to fight corruption and improper dress code in society?

[Hashemi-Rafsanjani] The problem of not observing Islamic dress code has more or less existed since the beginning of the revolution. There are some undesirable people who resist this code. They still fail to understand that they are living in an Islamic revolutionary state and must conform with its laws. Some of these people may not be Muslims and may not be believers. But this is a law and must be respected. The Interior Ministry has prepared a draft bill to confront the law-breakers. This draft bill is currently being debted in the Majles. After ratification of this bill, the Interior Ministry will have free hand to legally fight this phenomenon, which is of course declining. The pressure should increase to make them submit. Of course I mainly prefer counselling, and hope that they will realise the rules and not be a nuisance to us and to themselves. Then the health of society will be safeguarded. I beseech God to grant success to all of us to perform our duties properly. May God's peace and mercy be upon you all.

Pakistan

Prime Minister Bhutto Speaks on Kashmir Issue

Asks India To Honor Pledge

BK1303083290 Islamabad Overseas Service in English 0800 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] The prime minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, has assured all-out help on behalf of the people of Pakistan to the Kashmiris for their right of self-determination. Addressing a big welcoming crowd at the Lilam Stadium, she said she has come to Muzaffarabad along with her Cabinet ministers to express full solidarity with the people of Jammu and Kashmir for their just struggle for the inalienable right. She expressed confidence that they would certainly succeed.

The prime minister asked India to honor its commitment made at the United Nations for a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir according to UN resolutions. She said the uprising in occupied Kashmir is indigenous without any outside help. She invited foreign journalists expelled from occupied Kashmir to visit Pakistan and see for themselves whether there is any training camp as alleged by India.

The prime minister announced that a television station, a 100-bed women's ward, and an auditorium would be set up at Muzaffarabad, while a public school will be opened at Mirpur. She said efforts will also be made to provide Sui [cooking] gas to Muzaffarabad.

Earlier on arrival, she was accorded a warm welcome. She was received among others by the Azad Jammu and Kashmir president, Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan; Azad Jammu and Kashmir Prime Minister Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan; federal ministers; Azad Jammu and Kashmir ministers; leaders of various parties; elected representatives; senior officials; and elite of the city. She inspected a guard of honor presented by a smartly turned out contingent, and took the salute.

Offers Dialogue Under UN Aegis

BK1303112590 Islamabad Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] The prime minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, has urged India to respect the sentiments of Kashmiris, honor its international commitments, stop repression against innocent people and accept their demand for right to self-determination. She was addressing the joint session of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir [AJK] Legislative Assembly and AJK Council in Muzaffarabad this afternoon.

The prime minister said Pakistan is ready for talks with India on the Kashmir issue under the UN resolutions and Simla agreement. She said although the Simla agreement was reached when the country was in difficulty, but recognizes Kashmir as disputed territory [sentence as heard]. The then-President of Pakistan Shahid [martyr] Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had said at that time that Pakistan would not compromise on the right to self-determination of the Kashmiri people.

Ms. Benazir Bhutto said the whole nation has expressed confidence in the policy of her government on the Kashmir issue. They would not let down the confidence of the Kashmiris and the Pakistani people and would come up to their expectations.

The prime minister declared the whole world and the blessings of God are with us on the Kashmir issue. She hoped that victory will, insha'allah [God willing], be of the Kashmiri people.

Border Clash With Iranian 'Subversives' Kills 3

BK1303023990 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS OF PAKISTAN, three people were killed and five wounded in an exchange of fire between the opponents of the Iranian Government and Pakistan's Border Security Force at Mulla Chah near the Pakistan-Iran border on 12 March. The deputy commissioner of Turbat was among those killed.

The news agency says that the deputy commissioner had received information that some opponents of the Iranian Government had stockpiled arms and ammunition at Mulla Chah and were planning subversive activities in Iran on the occasion of the spring festival. The Frontier Corps then surrounded the position of the subversives and asked them to surrender, but they started shooting. The Frontier Corps retaliated, but the number of casualties among the subversives was not known.

South Korean Foreign Minister Arrives 12 Mar

BK1303025690 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] South Korean Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung arrived in Islamabad last night on a four-day official visit to Pakistan. He was received at the airport by Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan. Choe Ho-chung will lead his country's delegation to the Pakistan-Korea Joint Economic Commission's Meeting starting in Islamabad today.

Talking to newsmen, he said ways and means to further promote bilateral relations will be discussed during the joint commission's meeting. He said the two countries enjoy excellent relations and that his visit will further strengthen friendly bilateral ties.

Four Killed in Hyderabad Violence 11 Mar

BK1203022490 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] A press note issued by the Hyderabad District magistrate last night says some miscreants shot dead a student at City College in Hyderabad. Later, some miscreants opened fire in Timber Market road, injuring three pedestrians. In the afternoon, miscreants stopped a bus near (Charbara Goli) and fired at passengers, killing three of them and injuring eight others.

The press note adds that the law enforcement agencies are patrolling on a large scale.

Sri Lanka

Indian Air Force Flies Tamils Out of Country

BK1103133590 Hong Kong AFP in English 1330 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] New Delhi, March 11 (AFP)—An Indian Airforce plane carrying almost 300 Tamils and their families out of Sri Lanka's northeast before the completion of the Indian troop withdrawal arrived in eastern Orissa State Sunday.

The PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (PTI) said 296 Tamils including 10 councillors of the Northeast Provincial Council had flown in the Airforce Il-76 from the Sri Lankan port city of Trincomalee. The agency made no mention of whether the Northeastern Province chief minister, A. Varadaraja Perumal, who was reported to have left Trincomalee earlier Sunday with his family by air for an undisclosed destination in India, was aboard the flight.

State Minister for Rehabilitation Rajaratnam told journalists that most of those aboard the Il-76 were members and families of Mr. Perumal's Eelam People's Revolutionary Front (EPRLF). Others were from the Eelam Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO), and all feared attacks by the largest Tamil militant group in Sri Lanka, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) after the March 31 completion of the Indian troop withdrawal, Mr. Rajaratnam said.

Among them were Mr. Perumal's secretary and public relations officer, Bighneswaran and A. Jayakrishnaseelan, as well as the EPRLF General Secretary K. Padmanabhan, he said. All were to be transported by bus to camps which already house some 1,600 Tamils that arrived in Orissa in ships chartered by the Indian Navy late last week, PTI said.

Indian troops deployed in the Tamil majority Northeastern Province under a July 1987 bilateral accord have pulled out of all posts except Trincomalee, which they are scheduled to vacate on March 31.

(In Sri Lanka Tamil sources said earlier Sunday that Mr. Perumal had left the country bag and baggage for India. Mr. Perumal and his family left their home in Trincomalee along with some select officials of the regional government in an Indian Air Force aircraft, the sources said.

(Nalin Seneviratne, the governor of the Northeastern Province, said he had also learnt of Mr. Perumal's sudden flight and added it indicated the Tamils were not supporting the chief minister. "For him to have run away only proves he had lost the support of the people," Mr. Seneviratne said here. "He had told me on the second of this month that he planned to take refuge in India.")

Mr. Perumal is a key leader of the EPRLF, a former separatist group which took control of the northeastern government following elections in November 1988. But the EPRLF-controlled administration turned against the Sri Lankan Government after Colombo opened peace talks with the LTTE, the EPRLF's arch enemy, last May.

Mr. Perumal's departure came 10 days after he declared, in an unexpected move, his provincial council as a "national assembly of the democratic republic of Eelam", saying it was a prelude to secession.

(Mr. Seneviratne said he believed the EPRLF and its allied Tamil groups had about 2,000 to 3,000 armed cadres across the northeast who might clash with the LTTE after India pulled out all its troops from the island.

(The EPRLF supports the July 1987 accord under which New Delhi deployed its troops in the Northeastern Province to end a bloody Tamil separatist campaign.

(Mr. Seneviratne said Mr. Perumal's departure signalled a virtual collapse of the northeastern administration.

("The (provincial) ministers are not functioning," he said. "In the normal course if they are not working, the Sri Lankan Government will have to dissolve it (the administration).")

The dissolution of the EPRLF-led government and fresh elections in the region have been a major demand of the LTTE, which is known to now rule supreme in those areas of the Northeastern Province vacated by the Indian troops.

There was no word on Mr. Perumal's whereabouts in Madras, capital of the southern Indian State of Tamil Nadu where the EPRLF, like most other Sri Lankan Tamil groups, maintains an office.

The EPRLF also has seven members in the Sri Lankan Parliament.

More on Tamil Chief Minister's 'Sudden Flight'

BK1203154990 Hong Kong AFP in English 1525 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Colombo, March 12 (AFP)—A Colombo-appointed administrator moved to Sri Lanka's eastern Trincomalee town Monday [12 March], a day after the provincial Tamil chief minister fled the island ahead of an Indian troop withdrawal.

Governor Nalin Seneviratne flew from here by an Air Force jet to the port town, after Chief Minister A. Varadaraja Perumal left his home bag and baggage, virtually crippling the administration in the northeastern province.

Mr. Seneviratne said he was awaiting "further instructions" from Colombo, but added Mr. Perumal's sudden flight would not lead to any disruptions in essential services across the Tamil-majority northeast. But he said he was not aware of the whereabouts of Mr. Perumal, a senior leader of pro-India Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), one of the six Sri Lankan Tamil militant groups. "I don't know where he is," Mr. Seneviratne told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone from Trincomalee. "I had said yesterday (Sunday) that he had gone to India. My assumption was he might have gone to (the southern Indian city of) Madras."

There has been no official word in India about Mr. Perumal. EPRLF officials here said they did not know where he was. But both Mr. Senevirtane and Tamil sources here confirmed that Mr. Perumal had Sunday taken an Indian Air Force plane out of Trincomalee, the headquarters of the northeastern provincial administration.

A confidant of Mr. Perumal, who flew in here from Trincomalee Monday, asserted that the Tamil leader was not now in India and that his departure was "a planned and organised move". "He has not gone to India, but he will be in India soon," said R. Ponramrajakariar, also a member of the EPRLF, which took power in the northeast following elections in November 1988. "He (Mr. Perumal) hasn't disappeared," he said, adding: "it is a pre-planned and organised move. Let them search for him for some time."

An EPRLF MP [member of Parliament], V.K. Yogasankari, added that Mr. Perumal had told him that he would go to New Delhi ahead of the March 31 withdrawal from Sri Lanka by Indian troops deployed in the northeast under a July 1987 bilateral accord. [passage omitted]

EPRLF Members Move to Jungles To Avoid LTTE

BK1203104090 Hong Kong AFP in English 1032 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Colombo, March 12 (AFP)—Hundreds of armed Tamil militants have taken to the jungles in Sri Lanka's northeast ahead of an Indian troop pullout, but they will avoid large-scale clashes with rival guerrillas, a Tamil MP [member of Parliament] said Monday.

Y. Yogasankari of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) did not say how many had moved to the forests but said that the number given by the provincial governor, Nalin Seneviratne, was "more or less correct."

Mr. Seneviratne had said Sunday that some 2,000 to 3,000 armed members of the EPRLF and its allied Tamil groups were still in the Northeastern Province, though most of their leaders had fled to India for safety.

"Our boys are very much there (in the northeast)," Mr. Yogasankari said, adding: "We have not run away. We have only sent away our leaders. We will wait for our time."

He said his group had decided not to go for a confrontation with the rival Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the strongest Tamil guerrilla group in the island, or Sri Lankan security forces.

"When the right time comes, they will come out," the MP said, adding that sporadic skirmishes with LTTE militants was only to be expected and was already taking place.

Two top EPRLF leaders, including its Secretary General Kandiah Padmanabha and the Northeastern Province Chief Minister A. Varadaraja Perumal, escaped to India Sunday along with chosen supporters.

The flight came as Indian troops deployed in the island's Tamil-majority northeast under a July 1987 bilateral accord were preparing to quit the island, after failing to crush Tamil separatism. All Indian soldiers are expected to leave Sri Lanka by March 31.

Areas in the region vacated by the Indians have been taken over by armed guerrillas of the LTTE, the EPRLF's arch enemy, which the Indian Army had sought to crush after it repudiated the 1987 pact and refused to lay down weapons. Most Tamil groups have said they feared a massacre at the hands of the LTTE once the Indians depart.